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D-Q University: A history and case study

Mary Josephine Berger

College of William & Mary - School of Education

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D-Q UNIVERSITY:
A HISTORY AND CASE STUDY

A Dissertation
Presented to
The Faculty of the School of Education
The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Education

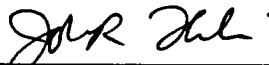
by
Mary Josephine Berger
November 1994

D-Q UNIVERSITY: A HISTORY AND CASE STUDY

by

Mary Josephine Berger

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To
The students and faculty of D-Q U.:
honest, courageous innovators

and

to
Blythe and Jean Berger:
magical antidotes to the Blatent Beast

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| Chapter | Page |
|--|------|
| I. INTRODUCTION | 2 |
| Statement of Purpose | 4 |
| Methods Used | 5 |
| Limitations | 6 |
| Background of Problem | 8 |
| II. LITERATURE REVIEW | 14 |
| Bibliographies | 15 |
| Institutional Histories | 16 |
| Histories of Ideas | 17 |
| Histories of American Indians | 18 |
| American Indians and Education | 20 |
| Tribal College Studies | 22 |
| Public Policy | 24 |
| D-Q University Background | 25 |
| D-Q University | 25 |
| Imaginative Literature | 26 |
| III. D-Q UNIVERSITY: BACKGROUND AND FOUNDING . . . | 29 |
| Background: Educational Movements | 29 |
| The Tribal College Movement | 32 |
| California: A Different History | 36 |
| Pan-American University Movement | 39 |
| Political Movements | 47 |
| D-Q University: Winter, 1970-1971 | 49 |
| IV. SURVIVAL | 52 |
| Prologue on the Process | 52 |
| The Early Years: Visions and Realities | 57 |
| Early Federal Grants: Beginnings of Conflict. | 63 |
| American Indian Higher Education Consortium | 67 |
| Social Causes and Intellectual Ferment | 69 |
| Douglas Banks, AIM, and Publicity | 70 |
| TCCCA: Permanent Funding and Fundamental Change | 77 |
| 1979-1983: Financial Crises and Responses | 81 |
| V. 1992: A CONTINUING STRUGGLE | 101 |
| Physical and Financial Resources: "We Make Do" | 104 |
| Governance and Administration: "The Good Fight" | 113 |

| | |
|--|-----|
| Curriculum: All Things to All People | 123 |
| Faculty: Creating an Environment | 134 |
| Learning Support Services | 140 |
| Students: Diversity | 152 |
| Community Involvement | 159 |
| VI. CONCLUSION: IT IS UNIQUE | 163 |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY | 168 |

D-Q UNIVERSITY: A HISTORY AND CASE STUDY

Abstract

In the United States, despite the large number and a seeming variety in types of colleges and universities, most people hold an image of the typical college, and most innovative institutions are variations on that theme. A truly different institution, however, challenges our assumptions about numerous aspects of higher education.

A tribal college without a tribe, a "university" offering only two-year degrees, an institution that values a Celestial Wheel as much as a biology laboratory: D-Q University is unique. This study attempts to answer basic descriptive questions about this institution, through analysis of documents, observation of the facilities and classes, and interviews with administrators, faculty, and students. The study also attempts to analyze how an institution so different from the norm must operate in order to survive.

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D-Q UNIVERSITY: A HISTORY AND CASE STUDY

Chapter I

Introduction

Anglo attempts to educate American Indians have been woefully misdirected and abysmally ineffective from the beginning. In 1794, Benjamin Franklin reported an Iroquois chief's assessment of early educational attempts:

We have had some experience of [your education]. Several of our young people were formerly brought up at the colleges of the Northern Provinces; they were instructed in all your Sciences; but, when they came back to us, they were bad Runners, ignorant of every means of living in the Woods, unable to bear either Cold or Hunger, knew neither how to build a Cabin, take a Deer, or kill an enemy, spoke our Language imperfectly, were therefore neither fit for Hunters, Warriors, not Counsellors; they were totally good for nothing. We are however not the less oblig'd by your kind Offer, tho' we decline accepting it; and, to show our grateful Sense of it, if the Gentlemen of Virginia will send us a Dozen of their Sons, we will take great Care of their Education, instruct them in all we know, and make Men of them. (1794, pp. 28-29).

By 1970 the situation had not improved. At that time, Estelle Fuchs and Robert Havighurst estimated that approximately 18% of American Indian high school graduates entered institutions of higher education. Approximately 4% graduated from four-year colleges. These percentages contrast dramatically with

those for all American youth, 40% of whom pursued higher education, and 22% of whom graduated (1972). Clearly, Anglo institutions of higher education were failing the American Indian population. Why?

A memoir by Jeanne Wakatsuki Houston, a member of a different minority group, offers a possible explanation. In recalling her experiences, as a seven-year-old, in a Japanese internment camp in 1943, she describes her first dinner. The Japanese were served sausage, beans, and steamed rice topped with apricots. Houston explains the problem:

The Caucasian servers were thinking the fruit poured over rice would make a good dessert. Among the Japanese, of course, rice is never eaten with sweet foods . . . Few of us could eat such a mixture . . . I was horrified when I saw the apricot syrup seeping through my little mound of rice. (1988, p. 23)

In a similar manner, the unsuccessful attempts of Anglo institutions to educate American Indian students, and other people of color, may resemble the internment cooks' menu: well-intentioned, but culturally ignorant, and, therefore, destined to fail.

In 1968, the first Tribal Community College was founded in Tsaille, Arizona, in an attempt to provide an alternative to "apricots over rice," for the poorest and least educated segment of the American population. Tribal colleges, although their major source of support is federal appropriation, are considered "private" colleges and are chartered by specific American Indian tribes.

Statement of Purpose

This study describes D-Q University, a unique, small college and its attempt to provide, for American Indian and other students, a program of higher education which is not only culturally informed, but whose every facet--from the posters on the walls and the textbooks used in general education classes to the sweat lodges on the college's ceremonial grounds--is infused with awareness of the values and needs of American Indian students. D-Q University, located fourteen miles from Davis, California, is the only tribally controlled college not located on a reservation; therefore, its mission emphasizes the values of a diverse range of American Indian and Anglo students. It is the only tribal college located in California, a state whose indigenous population's history varies dramatically from that of the eastern or plains Indians. The history of the college bears the marks of a variety of liaisons and conflicts: American Indian/Chicano, activists/academicians, reservation Indians/urban Indians, separatists/assimilationists. Rather than attracting an even vaguely homogenous population, the college attempts to serve an extremely diverse group, in age, in tribal affiliation, and in cultural identity.

Although a great deal has been written about American Indians, and a little has been written about American Indian higher education, no previous studies have attempted to answer the basic descriptive questions of Kenneth Burke's paradigm:

who? what? when? where? why? This study attempts to provide answers to basic questions about history, governance, and curriculum in an effort to define the problems and possibilities of one example of a paradigm of higher education which differs radically from the norm in American colleges and universities because it serves a population different from the norm.

Segregation has a bad name in American education; yet the 26 American Indian Tribal Colleges, institutions segregated by their missions and their roots in American Indian tribal cultures, may, according to Ernest Boyer, be, "absolutely crucial to the Native American community and to our nation" (1989, p. 2). Because, by the year 2000, people of color will outnumber the European population in the United States, any alternative attempt to educate people of color deserves close study.

Methods Used

In the background portions of this study, I relied on a variety of primary documents and secondary studies, ranging from treaties to transcriptions of congressional hearings and from imaginative literature by American Indian writers to studies of the education of American Indians from the colonial period to the 1990's. Newspaper accounts and studies of the Red Power movement provided facts about the political and social climate during the founding of D-Q University. The

study of the college, itself, began with two site visits which allowed me to become familiar with the physical facilities of the college and to observe a number of classes and interview a variety of people. Study of the college catalogues, accreditation documents, grant applications and evaluations, and legal documents held in the college library provided details about the college's history and present operations. An excellent collection of popular press accounts of the events at D-Q provided another source of information.

Limitations

D-Q University is not a typical American Indian college. Although it is funded under the Tribally Controlled Community College Act, its history, its location, and its population make it a unique institution among a group of unique institutions. Why not study a "typical" Tribal College?

Tribal Colleges located on reservations and governed by the values of a specific American Indian tribe can serve as models only for similarly configured institutions, not for institutions which might serve American Indians who live in urban areas or for institutions which might serve people of color other than American Indians. Because of its unique situation, D-Q University provides both a possible model for a variety of innovative institutions and an example of the types of problems encountered in such colleges.

This study is limited in a number of other ways. Some

limitations are common to case studies: I spent less than two weeks at D-Q University; I did not attend all classes, nor did I live in the dormitories. In several instances, people whom I would have liked to interview were not available. Documents which would have detailed some facets of the institution were, similarly, unavailable. Triangulation of information was often hampered by the unavailability of even two descriptions of the same event or issue. In the case of D-Q University, as elsewhere, the victors write the histories.

Other limitations are more subtle. As an Anglo woman, I can experience American Indian culture and an institution rooted in that culture only as an outsider. Only in the past decade have ethnographers and anthropologists begun to consider the question of whether or not objectivity exists in any research. I believe, with Rhonda Kelser Unger and most current ethnographers, that, "Description is always from someone's point of view," (1983, p. 47) and that the line between observer and observed is always a blurry one. As a person who has attended, taught, and administered in only mainstream institutions of higher education, and as a visitor at D-Q University, I was constantly aware of both the strengths and the limitations of my identity. My education and my work, which have given me theoretical and experiential knowledge about mainstream institutions, enabled me to see similarities to and differences from mainstream institutions with some accuracy. These same facets of my background

prevented me from seeing D-Q University with an insider's eye. Administrators, instructors, and students talked with me in what seemed an extraordinarily candid manner, but I was always aware, though their references, their jargon, and their assumptions, that they were members of a very tightly-knit cultural group, formed as much by their membership in D-Q University as by their heritage as American Indians.

Background of the Problem

Early plans to educate Native Americans seem almost deliberate shams. The charters of both the College of William and Mary and Harvard University included dedication to the education of Native American students, and buildings were erected in both institutions to house these students. However, few American Indians attended either institution; the buildings were used to house English students instead, and many of the Indians who did attend suffered physical illness and cultural disjunction in the experience (Szasz, 1988).

From the days of the early republic to the mid-twentieth century, public policy toward the education of American Indians vacillated between misinformed benevolence and disguised hostility, determined not by the needs or desires of the indigenous people but by the economic goals of the invading Europeans. In the early republic, attitudes toward American Indian education evidence misinformed benevolence, motivated by the desire of the government to stabilize Eastern

tribes into agricultural communities which would conform to Anglo patterns of living. George Washington set the tone for decades of American Indian education. Stating that he believed that early efforts to educate Indians had not been productive, Washington advocated that, "husbandry, and consequently, civilization, should be introduced among the Indians" (Berry, 1968, p. 88). In 1791, \$500.00 was appropriated annually for equipment and staff to teach agriculture to the Indians. In 1819, under James Monroe, a "Civilization Fund" of \$10,000 was established, for a wide range of educational activities, none including higher education (Adams, 1971). This fund was maintained annually until 1873, although attitudes toward American Indians began to change during the 1830's because of the hindrance they presented toward western expansion.

During Andrew Jackson's administration, which initiated a 50-year period of attempts to remove Indians from land desired by European settlers, five long-reaching acts were implemented: the Indian Removal Act of 1830, the Indian Trade and Intercourse Act, creation of the Indian Office (later to become the Bureau of Indian Affairs), creation of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and passage of regulations for exploiting ceded Indian territories. The Indian Office, under the Department of War, wanted sedentary, tractable, economically independent tribes, and it sponsored education in pursuit of only these ends (Adams, 1971). Several treaties

written during this period provided for the higher education of a few tribal students at Anglo colleges chosen by the Secretary of War (American Indian Policy Review Commission, 1976).

The first reform movement began during the Civil War. In 1865, a Congressional committee inspected the conditions of Indian tribes in the West, reporting on disease, death, and dismal living conditions. The committee recommended reservations and education as cheaper and more humane policies than military control (Adams, 1971). Ironically, the first annual Congressional appropriation for Indian education was instituted only one year before Congress passed the first in a series of acts aimed at dissolving Indian tribes by refusing to recognize them as sovereign nations (Brightman, 1974). However, the purpose of both actions was to support assimilation. Boarding schools were initiated, organized along military principles and located far enough away from reservations to ensure students' separation from their families and from tribal customs (National Advisory Council, 1973).

During this period, a number of institutes and colleges began to offer education to American Indians, although most did not offer curricula at the level of higher education. Between 1878 and 1923, Hampton Institute, a traditionally Black college educated 1,300 American Indian students from sixty-five tribes. Although the American Indian students

participated in the normal Hampton curriculum, they were housed in lodges where they were encouraged to perpetuate their individual tribal cultures. This unique, and seemingly successful program ended because of the loss of federal support and the distance of Hampton from most Indian reservations (Hultgren and Molin, 1989).

The Croatian Normal School, in North Carolina, was founded as a segregated institution to train Indian teachers and funded by the North Carolina Legislature (Dial and Eliadas, 1972). Haskell Institute in Lawrence, Kansas, opened in 1884, with a curriculum emphasizing English language and vocational training. In 1894, a teacher training department was added, and a business course in 1895 (American Indian Policy, 1976).

In 1887, the Dawes Severality Act, also known as the Allotment Act, was passed in response to pressures both to break up tribal loyalties and to decrease the amount of money the federal government needed to spend on American Indians. The act, which mandated individual, rather than tribal, ownership resulted in specific portions of reservation land being allocated to families and single adults, and the remainder of the land, having been declared surplus, going to White settlers. Between 1890 and 1900, American Indians lost one-third of their tribal land. Provisions were made to use part of the money from the sale of surplus land to send Indian youths to boarding schools for agricultural training and

elementary schooling; there was no provision for higher education (U.S. Statutes at Large, 1871).

The period of disguised hostility, symbolized by boarding schools which were "stagnant" and "unrealistic" (Szasz, 1988, p. 104) continued until the mid-1960's, except for a brief period of reform under Franklin Roosevelt's Commissioner of Indian Affairs, John Collier. In June, 1934, a bill popularly known as "The Indian Reorganization Act of 1934" addressed both educational and non-educational aspects of American Indian life. Economically, it ended the Dawes' Act's attempt to deprive indigenous people of their land. Educationally, the act provided for \$250,000 in loan monies for higher education for native students, both vocational and academic. During the 1930's the number of youths attending colleges and vocational schools rose to 554 (Blauch, 1939). After seven years of progress, on America's entrance into World War II, all sources of funding for aiding American Indians were cut substantially, with the B.I.A. losing over one million dollars in appropriations during the war years (Brophy, 1966).

During the 1950's, numerous bills moved toward termination of aid to American Indians living on reservations and advocating movement of indigenous peoples from reservations to assimilation in urban areas. These strategies of assimilation perpetuated ignorance of the values of Native American culture, traditions, and language.

Not until 1968 did policies change, in response to growing Native American activism. In that year, Richard Nixon announced that, "The right of self-determination of the Indian people will be respected and their participation in planning their own destiny will be actively encouraged" (quoted in Boyer, 1989, p. 21). In that year, the first Tribally Controlled Community College was founded on the Navajo Reservation in southwestern Arizona. The foundation of D-Q University in some ways preceded this milestone, although D-Q did not begin operations until 1971.

Chapter II

Literature Review

The amount of information about American higher education is vast. The amount of information about American Indians is, similarly, vast. The amount of information about education and American Indians is, in contrast, small; and the amount of information about American Indians in higher education is minuscule. Among the many and complex causes for this paucity of information is the small number of American Indians historically involved in institutions of higher education. Other reasons involve both the nature of American higher education and the image of American Indians which enabled European invaders to justify their destruction of vast amounts of indigenous culture.

The traditional mission of American institutions of higher education, from Harvard to Evergreen State College, has been to transmit civilization, until very recently, a civilization labelled "Western," a descriptor considered highly ironic by many American Indians. As Roy Harvey Pearce explains in Savagism and Civilization (1955), a classic work in ideological analysis, European goals in the new world necessitated their forming an image of the Indian which would allow them to destroy Indian individuals and to take over vast

tribal areas. This image emphasized the idea of American Indians as savages who actively opposed civilization. Typical of the numerous seventeenth and eighteenth century texts which Pearce analyzed is the following statement by Bernard Romans, written in 1775 about a Florida tribe:

But alas! What a people do we find them, a people not only rude and uncultivated, but incapable of civilization: a people that would think themselves degraded to the lowest degree, were they to imitate us in any respect whatsoever. (p. 76)

American Indians who participated, successfully, in American institutions of higher education presented an insoluble dilemma for this ideology. For, if Indians could be educated (civilized), then the rationale for destroying them was negated. Isolated stories of successes, such as that at Hampton Institute, survive, but it is impossible to determine if other success stories occurred and were forgotten or if the ideology which justified westward expansion and Indian wars precluded other successful educational endeavors. One can only wonder if the paucity of information in mainstream publications about Tribal Colleges is a reminder of this original dilemma.

Bibliographies

Bibliographies proved only minimally useful. The Education of American Indians: A Survey of the Literature (1968) contains listings of books, monographs, pamphlets, and dissertations studying a wide variety of interactions of

American Indians with education but little material about higher education. A brief chapter about higher education describes demographic studies of the performance of American Indian college students and qualitative studies of the problems faced by Indian college students.

Dissertation Abstracts International (1993) produced listings for a number of recently written studies of American Indians in higher education; most of these concerned students in mainstream institutions and detailed either the problems of indigenous students or programs to aid in their assimilation. Two valuable dissertations, both historical--Wayne Stein's A History of the Tribally Controlled Community Colleges: 1968-1978 (1988) and Jack Haymond's The American Indian and Higher Education: From the College for the Children of the Infidels (1619) to Navajo Community College (1969)--studied Tribal Colleges specifically, and one compares mainstream community colleges to tribal community colleges: Marie LaRocque's A Comparative Study of Selected American Indian and Non-Indian Community Colleges (1986).

An ERIC search was of minimal value. Although there were thousands of entries about American Indians, there were under 100 about American Indians in higher education and only five about Tribal Colleges, specifically.

Institutional Histories

The most powerful form of discrimination is, simply,

ignoring. Neither of the major histories of American higher education, Frederick Rudolph's The American College and University: A History (1962) and Laurence R. Veysey's The Emergence of the American University (1965) mentions the presence of American Indians in higher education. Both books do include brief discussions of Historically Black Colleges and the education of Black students in majority institutions. Both works were published before the establishment of the first Tribal College, but American Indians have been present in higher education since the seventeenth century. Gerald Grant and David Riesman's The Perpetual Dream: Reform and Experiment in the American College does not mention the American Indian experimental colleges, nineteen of which had been founded before its publication in 1978, and all of which seem prime examples of telic reform. Arthur Levine's comprehensive study, Handbook on Undergraduate Curriculum (1978) does not mention Tribal Community Colleges although it does include numerous mid twentieth-century innovative efforts both in the text and in the chronological history of education.

Histories of Ideas

Both James Axtell's The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America (1985) and Roy Harvey Pearce's Savagism and Civilization (1988), although very different works, provide valuable background for considering

American Indian-Anglo relationships. In lucid prose, Axtell presents an ethnohistory examining the first 120 years of interrelationships among American Indian, English, and French cultures, particularly explaining the subtle ways in which indigenous people educated Europeans. Pierce's history of the ideology which emerged from European and Indian encounters relies on both early journals and nineteenth-century imaginative literature. He analyzes the early formation of the idea of "noble savage" and the interplay between theory and practice which resulted in the eventual revision of that idea into the idea of "savagism."

Histories of American Indians

The most useful history, for me, has been a collection of essays designed for use in college-level American History classes: Frederick Hoxie, Ed., Indians in American History (1988). Sponsored by the D'Arcy McNickle Center for the History of the American Indian, a subsidiary of the Newberry Library, the book is a "primer" written, seemingly, to be used in conjunction with a standard American History text. It introduces both the facts of tribal histories and a revision of historical events from the American Indian viewpoint. Intended to "infect its readers" (p. xiv) by presenting anthropological, historical, and legal perspectives, the book serves as an easily readable antidote to the simplistic view of history governed by ethnocentrism. Including chapters by

James Axtell and Alfonso Ortiz, the book ranges in time and subject, providing an excellent introduction to Indian history. The rather defensive tone of many of the authors seems understandable, considering their lengthy and unsuccessful attempts to gain admission for Indian history to standard textbooks.

Other works have proven useful in understanding American Indian history and culture. Colin G. Calloway's New Directions in American Indian History (1988) is a collection of bibliographic essays ranging in subject from Indian women to Indian law. Sadly, it does not contain a section about education, nor does it identify education as among the emerging fields in Indian history.

Histories of the American Indian movements in the mid-sixties and seventies provided background for studying the origins of D-Q University. Hazel Hertzberg's The Search for an American Indian Identity: Modern Pan-Indian Movements (1970) details the background and attempts to define the nature of the Pan-Indian movement. Although Hertzberg does not discuss education, her work provides necessary background for understanding of the political, cultural, and religious aspects of the Red Power movement during the 1960's.

Two more specific works, In the Spirit of Crazy Horse (1984) by Peter Matthiessen, and Agents of Repression: The FBI's Secret Wars Against the Black Panther Party and the American Indian Movement (1988) by Ward Churchill and Jim

Vander Wall, although admittedly biased in favor of American Indian leaders and actions, are invaluable in describing events of the Red Power movement from the point of view of those involved in it. Michael Apted's documentary, "Incident at Oglala" (1991), examines the 1975 firefight between American Indian Movement activists and the FBI, an incident which has assumed lasting symbolic importance for American Indians.

Vine Deloria's American Indian Policy in the Twentieth Century (1985) is a collection of essays discussing wide-ranging governmental policies: from water rights to religious rights. Arranged topically, the essays are slightly uneven and purposely overlapping. They complicate the issue of public policy and Indian rights in order to more fully explain it. Critical of the contrast between high-minded legislation and pathetically slow implementation, the various authors emphasize the lack of coherence in the government's Indian policies. Although it includes no discussion of education specifically, it is an excellent introduction to the complexity of the legal issues surrounding American Indian tribes and their actions.

American Indians and Education

As an introduction to this subject, Estelle Fuchs' and Robert J. Havighurst's To Live on This Earth: American Indian Education (1972), presents an overview of government policy

and specific schools from colonial times to the early 1970's. Using public policy records, records of Indian conferences, and school records, Fuchs and Havighurst demonstrate the failure of Anglo schools to educate Native Americans humanely. Skipping from tribe to tribe tends to foster generalizations which may not be accurate, but the overview is lucid, and the bibliography valuable for the period before the founding of Tribal Colleges.

A more narrowly focused work, Margaret Connell Szasz's Indian Education in the American Colonies, 1607-1783 (1988) is a slightly cumbersome but very detailed account of early educational attempts by Anglo institutions. Using many institutional and government documents, Szasz emphasizes the disparity between stated policies and actual occurrences.

Szasz's work about education in the 20th century is also useful: Education and the American Indian: The Road to Self-Determination since 1928 (1977). Szasz concentrates on B.I.A. schools, although she describes, at length, the first experimental, tribally controlled elementary and secondary schools. Using government documents, school records, and interviews, Szasz presents insightful discussions of educational problems. She includes a valuable detailed map of reservations.

Marlys Duchene's article, "Giant Law, Giant Education, and Ant: A Story about Racism" (1989) emphasizes the inaccuracy of the term, "Indian," to describe the hundreds of

different tribes and the political problems affecting educational policy which result from the inaccuracy of the definition and its subsequent concepts. Carol Lucust, in "Wounding the Spirit: Discrimination and Tradition in American Indian Belief Systems" (1988), discusses the crucial role of education in preserving native American traditions.

Tribal College Studies

Although frustratingly brief, Tribal Colleges: Shaping the Future of Native America (1989), written by Paul Boyer with an introduction by Ernest L. Boyer, provides an easily readable overview of the Tribal College movement. Boyer uses institutional self-studies, site visits, and numerous interviews to laud the Tribal College movement and the seven specific institutions visited by his team of educators. The only problems with Tribal Colleges, according to Boyer, are those caused by lack of government funding and interest.

The only statistics available about student satisfaction and retention in Tribal Colleges appear in "An Assessment of Student Outcomes at Tribally Controlled Community Colleges," a paper presented by Bobby Wright, Director of the Center for Native American Studies at Montana State University, in 1986. Wright asserts that Native American students are being well-served by their colleges, although his statistics, with only a 24% survey return rate, seem unconvincing.

The few articles about Tribal Colleges published in

either journals or newspapers present rather general descriptions of specific institutions. Carolyn Mooney has profiled two colleges in The Chronicle of Higher Education. "Head of Blossoming Tribal College: 'A Product of My Community'" (1989) describes Janine Pease-Windy Boy and her role at Little Big Horn College in Crow Agency, Montana. In a similar article, "In a Barren Land: A Tribal College Flourishes" (1988), Mooney describes the attempts to preserve Crow culture at Oglala Lakota Community College. A condensation of Boyer's report appeared in Change in 1990. An adaptation of the study also appeared in the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges Journal in 1990. In 1990, the Journal of American Indian Education published a summary of Wayne Stein's 1988 dissertation discussion of tribal college funding.

A four-part series by Eileen M. O'Brien in Black Issues in Higher Education (1990) a bi-monthly newsletter, describes various individual colleges and discusses public policy problems in funding. Although O'Brien has obviously studied numerous government documents, she provides no bibliography.

In "The 4 Year Community Tribal College: Some Lessons in Success for Indian Students in College," a paper presented at a Minorities in Higher Education Conference in 1988, Lowell Amiotte, Oglala Lakota College President, and Tom Allen, its Director of Institutional Development, describe the community-based education at O.L.C. and its implications for students.

Public Policy

Among the most valuable sources are records of the three congressional hearings which investigated and eventually recommended funding for Tribal Colleges. The first hearing, before the Joint Economic Committee, in 1968, contains impassioned speeches by members of various tribes, insightful questions from a variety of congressmen, and a seeming concentration by both groups on the necessity of understanding definitions and reaching agreement.

By the 1981 Oversight Hearing on Tribally Controlled Community College Assistance Act, a great deal of drama had developed. Indian leaders complained about cuts in FTE, delays in funding, a bureaucratic boggle in technical assistance, and general discrepancies between the spirit of the law and its letter. Several senators attempted to explain government policies; however, they sound less convincing than the Indian leaders.

The drama continued in the Reauthorization of the Tribally Controlled College Assistance Act of 1978 in 1990. Held in Bismark, North Dakota, and attended by numerous American Indian educational leaders, this hearing was filled with innuendo and confusion. In one particularly spirited dialogue, Edward Parisian, former member of the Board of Trustees at Stone Child Community College and present Director of Education in the B.I.A. explained his simultaneous appointment to a government post and reduction in his estimate

of funding needs for the colleges. American Indian leaders argued, convincingly, that ten years of steadily decreased funding was seriously damaging the colleges. The college representatives won an increase in funding, but it was unclear if this increase would actually be paid to the colleges.

D-Q University Background: Place and Time

Perhaps because of the plethora of Native American tribes in California, fewer works have been written about individual tribes than have, for example, about plains tribes. The Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 8 (1948) contains more anthropological and archeological than current information, but its coverage of the 206 tribes is encyclopedic. Ishi in Two Worlds: A Biography of the Last Wild Indian in North America (1961) details the life of one of the last survivors of a once-numerous tribe and provides a fascinating account both of survival means and the interaction between Ishi and the anthropologists who befriended him.

D-Q University

Jack D. Forbes, one of the founders of D-Q University and a professor at the University of California, Davis, published a monograph in 1985 which reproduces a variety of official and private documents pertaining to the founding of the college. Forbes provides contexts for the documents with his memories of events. Official college documents--the college catalogue,

self-studies, and grant applications--provided facts about structures and goals of the college.

Harvey Peoples, the librarian at D-Q U, provided me with his collection of press accounts of D-Q. These ranged from interviews with faculty published in the U.C. Davis student underground newspaper to news accounts in the Sacramento Bee.

Imaginative Literature

Some common themes seem relevant to ideas about education of American Indians: attitudes toward the land, criticisms of Anglo culture, and the value of tribal traditions. Love of and reverence for the land permeates Native American literature, from N. Scott Momaday's early work House Made of Dawn (1969) and The Way to Rainy Mountain (1972) to the recent poetry of Anna L. Waters, a Pawnee-Otoe writer. The land provides not only physical sustenance but life and inspiration for the soul, and separation from the tribal land is frequently associated with spiritual starvation as it is in Leslie Marmon Silko's Ceremony (1977). The location of Tribal Colleges on reservations (often isolated ones) thus seems a crucial factor not only for physical accessibility but also for spiritual wholeness for the students.

Bitingly sarcastic criticisms of Anglo culture and corruption appear in many works, particularly those of poets Joy Harjo, Karoniaktatie {Alex Jacobs}, and Linda Hogan (all collected in The Remembered Earth, 1979.) Targets of

criticism range from perversions of Indian culture (trinkets sold as "real") to hunting massacres (rather than hunting rituals) to bootleggers to the injustice of Anglo American of justice. At least some of this hatred seems caused by the pervasive belief that Anglo culture has been imposed on American Indians, robbing them of their own cultures. Tribal Colleges' insistence on basing their curricula and community programs in tribal customs may provide students with a certain enough sense of their own cultural heritage to dispel at least some of the animosity toward Anglo culture:

Much of the literature, more positively, perpetuates ancient ritual and the oral tradition. The theme of healing through ritual appears in both Momaday and Silko. Most of Silko's stories in Storyteller (1981) have traditional Laguna antecedents, and Margaret Astrov's collection The Winged Serpent (1946) includes chants, lamentations, and oratory. The most valuable critical work explaining the traditional bases of American Indian literature and brilliantly deconstructing Euroamerican prejudices is Paula Gunn Allen's The Sacred Hoop (1986). Lowell Amiotte's statements, in a previously cited paper, about the crucial nature of Native American culture in Tribal Colleges seem appropriate: "We believe that [tribal traditions] are intrinsic to Indian students' success" (1988, p. 3). By teaching tribal languages, tribal arts, and tribal ceremonies, the colleges not only perpetuate the cultures but also confer on their

students a firm sense of their own identity and the value of their cultures.

Chapter III

D-Q U.: Background and Founding

D-Q University, known then, as Deganwidah-Quetzeltcotl University, hit national newspapers on November 4th, the day after the 1970 national election, in a dramatic incident prefiguring its lengthy, stormy conflicts with the U.S. Government. On the night before, according to a small article on page six of the New York Times, a group of 73 American Indians scaled the cyclone fence surrounding a former U.S. Army Communications Center near Davis, California, to seize it for an educational institution (1970). Consisting of 643.5 acres, seven miles outside of Davis, the site was occupied one year after Navajo Community College had begun operations quite peacefully in a B.I.A. high school in Many Farms, Arizona (Janssen, 1974) and a year after a group which called itself Indians of All Tribes had occupied another abandoned federal facility at Alcatraz Island (bluecloud, 1972). D-Q's existence owes debts to both the peaceful educational and cultural movements which founded Navajo Community College and to the more radical elements which occupied Alcatraz.

Background: Educational Movements

Two American Indian educational efforts, which had often

complementary goals, co-existed during the 1960's, without much contact with each other. One was a tribal movement, encompassing educational self-determination movements from primary school through college. The other was the lesser-known movement for a pan-Indian university.

Both movements had their roots in mid-twentieth century international events and national politics. World War II profoundly affected American Indians. Twenty-two thousand Indians served in the armed forces during the war while forty-five thousand others left reservations to work in war-related industries (Armstrong, 1945). Indians returning to reservations from military or civilian service had changed in complex ways; however, the reservations to which they returned had not. The crucial nature of these changes is evidenced by the fact that the two most highly respected novels by contemporary American Indians, Leslie Marmon Silko's Ceremony (1977) and N. Scott Momaday's House Made of Dawn (1968) both narrate the stories of soldiers who struggle to find their places in American Indian societies after having lived off the reservations. Economically, the returning American Indians had become accustomed to reasonable wages; they returned to depressed reservations and little available work. Socially, many had been accepted by the dominant society as long as they were in uniform; they returned acutely conscious of the discrimination they encountered as civilian American Indians. They had been exposed to government bureaucracies, and many

were not opposed to using what they had learned to gain economic, social, and educational goals.

The G.I. Bill and the Vocational Rehabilitation Bill (P.L. 16) were available to veterans, and a number of American Indians used this aid to increase their education. A small cadre of educated American Indians began to form.

Meanwhile, nationally, John Collier's New Deal programs to improve education had fallen under the rise of a move toward assimilation and termination not only of American Indian education programs but of reservations themselves. Phrased in patriotic terms, the movement to cancel all aid to American Indians was publicized as a movement to "set Indians free" (Armstrong, 1945, p. 49). In 1950, Dillon S. Myer was appointed as head of the B.I.A. Myer reorganized and centralized the B.I.A., demoting the Education Division to a branch, one of the eleven branches reporting directly to him (Szasz, 1977). During 1954, House Concurrent Resolution 108 called for termination of federal services to American Indians. During 1954, ten similar bills were introduced and six were enacted. Educational loans for secondary school and college educations, enacted in 1934, were cancelled. (Steif, 1972).

The termination movement had mixed effects on American Indians. Whereas it, immediately, "left broad wakes of human suffering and tragedy" and brought "widespread disorientation" to the tribes, it also resulted in both the growth of an

internal educational leadership and external favorable publicity for American Indians. (Josephy, 1988, p. 262). The National Congress of American Indians, founded in 1944, gained strength from the almost universal tribal opposition to termination. Furthermore, many Anglos recognized the inherent immorality of termination and began to support Indian self-determination. By the time the Eisenhower administration halted termination efforts in 1958, the seeds of Indian activism had been planted (Josephy, 1988).

The Tribal College Movement

The tribe most affected by the war was the Navajo, the tribe which occupies the largest reservation in the U.S. and a tribe which had remained relatively untouched by Anglo encroachments. Navajo soldiers who distinguished themselves in both combat and intelligence service during the war returned to poverty and illiteracy on their reservations and were convinced that education needed to improve. Estelle Fuchs and Robert Havighurst emphasized the severity of the Navajo situation: "After a century of federal education programs, the Navajos have produced only one doctor, one lawyer, one Ph.D., and several engineers. With Education as the largest business on the reservation, over 90 per cent of the teachers are non-Navajos" (1972, p. 267).

In the spring of 1946, a delegation of Navajos presented a list of requests to congress, primarily demanding

fulfillment of the promises of the Treaty of 1868. The government response resulted in the creation of the Special Education Program, a program to condense primary and secondary school into six years and to offer it in an way that would be appropriate for the over-aged, under-educated Navajo population. Reflecting the termination movement, the program was not enacted on the reservation but at a variety of sites such as Sherman Institute in Riverside, California, and Intermountain Indian School in Brigham City, Utah (Szasz, 1977). Directed by Hildegard Thompson, who later became Education Director of the B.I.A., the program was wildly successful in providing both basic literacy skills and job training during the 1950's and in demonstrating a successful, if off-reservation, educational system (Haymond, 1982).

Simultaneously, interest increased in Indian-controlled schools for Navajos. Rough Rocks Demonstration School, directed by Indians and funded by the B.I.A., was founded in the early 1960's and, with a similar effort at Ramah High School, gave Navajos experience in educational administration (Szasz, 1977).

In 1965, building on both Rough Rock's success and the failure of a scholarship system to enable Navajo youths to succeed in mainstream institutions a group of Navajo leaders secured from the Office of Economic Opportunity funds to begin a feasibility study for a community college (Stein, 1990). The study recommended foundation of the community college on

the reservation, controlled by the tribe. Leaders were able to gain support of local businessmen, governmental leaders, and two national champions in the Office of Economic Opportunity. Public meetings built a constituency within the tribe and private meetings maintained focus on the educational mission. The college initially opened, with a ten-member, all Navajo board, in 1968 (Fuchs, 1972). It was initially funded by a three-year commitment from OEO for \$450,000 yearly, \$250,000 from the Navajo Tribe, and \$60,000 from the Donner Foundation. In 1971, through the efforts of Representative Wayne Aspinall, Chairman of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, the college gained unique and continuing national funding in the form of PL 92-189 (Stein, 1990).

The campus to which the college moved in 1973, is a showpiece of Navajo culture. Located in the shadow of the Luckachukai Mountains in Tsaile, Arizona, Navajo Community College's catalogue describes it as "in harmony with traditional Navajo philosophy and education in their design and placement" (1990-91, p. 8). Its buildings are arranged in a circle, with the cultural center at the entrance facing the East, as does a traditional hogan. Buildings are located in the approximate place where their activities would occur in a hogan: dormitories on the west side, corresponding to the sleeping area in a hogan; the library within the circle where the medicine bundle is traditionally located during a ceremony. The support for and success of Navajo Community

College was due, in part, to the unique nature of the Navajo tribe, in part to the growing popularity of the community college system during the 1960's, and, seemingly, to the federal government's attempt to alleviate its guilt by establishing a model institution.

Beginning in 1969, on the Oglala-Lakota Sioux Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota, a different type of experiment was being tried, one which also, eventually, became a Tribal College. A project, funded by VISTA, in cooperation with the University of Colorado, paired Colorado students with Oglala Lakota community members. The University of Colorado students taught G.E.D. courses, and the Oglala Lakotas educated the university students about reservation life and Sioux culture. Several of the college courses designed for the U.C. students were opened to community members as the first step in forming an American Indian community college. These courses were taught at a variety of sites, and, by October, 1970, twenty-two different courses were being offered. Oglala-Lakota College, with a decentralized structure suited to the vastness of the Pine Ridge Reservation, was founded in 1971. Also founded during 1971 were Sinte Gleska College on the Rosebud Sioux Reservation in South Dakota, Turtle Mountain Community College on the Turtle Mountain Chippewa Reservation in North Dakota, and Standing Rock Community College on the Standing Rock Sioux Reservation in North Dakota (Stein, 1988).

California: A Different History

Meanwhile, in 1960, Jack Forbes, then a new assistant professor of history at San Fernando Valley State College, began to advocate a more grandiose plan: the idea of an Pan-American Indian University in 1960 (Forbes, 1985). This idea was particularly suited to California, whose American Indians' experiences had differed dramatically from those of American Indians in the eastern and plains states. Whereas Indian populations in many states center on or around several large reservations, the California map is dotted with over one hundred reservations and rancherias, some as large as 1000 acres, some as small as twenty-five acres. Before the Spanish invasion of California and the establishment of the missions, American Indians in California existed in small, self-governing groups, in territories determined by either geography or ecology. Large cultural differences existed between tribes in Northern California, closely associated with the cultures of the Northwest, and those of Southern California, more Hispanic in nature. Cultures also differed among groups living near the ocean, groups in the Central Valley, and groups in desert and mountainous regions (Castillo, 1978). Hence, California has never been dominated by one tribe or one tribal culture in the way that Montana, for example, is dominated by the Blackfoot Indians or the Four Corners area is dominated by the Navajo.

The interactions between California Anglos and Indians

also differed from those which occurred elsewhere in the United States. Major contacts began in 1769 with the Spanish military-missionary "sacred expedition" led by Captain Gaspar de Portola and Padre Fray Junipero Serra (Castillo, 1978, p. 100). The goal of the highly-organized expedition, was to set up a "coercive authoritarian, feudal-manorial system," in which Indians were converted and then required to do manual labor for the missions (Castillo, 1978, p. 101). Dolan H. Eargle, an American Indian historian comments: "The missions were built with four walls, not to keep people out" (1992, p. 29). Under the mission system, both disease and malnutrition decimated the California Indian population. Some Indians resisted actively by mounting sporadic attacks on the missions; others resisted more passively by escaping to the interior mountains and valleys (Castillo, 1978).

When Mexico gained independence from Spain in 1821, the process of secularizing the missions began. Mission Indians scattered, some running to the interior valleys, some finding employment in the vast rancheros established by Mexican land-grant owners. Although, during this period, land owners mounted kidnapping forays to capture native peoples for labor, many of the interior tribes remained relatively untouched by outside influences. Not until the beginning of the American invasion in the 1840's did all tribes become affected by Anglos.

Mexico ceded Alta California to the United States in

1848, only a few days after Johann Sutter had found a small gold nugget near Sacramento, and the gold race began. Two major differences between Hispanic and Anglo cultures contributed to the destruction of Indian culture. Whereas the Hispanic culture had included a role for Indians, as laborers, the Anglo culture did not. Edward Castillo comments: "Indian life . . . was seen as worthless to the Americans" (1978, p. 107). Mexican custom had permitted miscegenation among the lower classes, leading to some integration of Indians with the Mexicans; Anglo culture did not condone intermarriage (Castillo, 1978). Clashes between gold prospectors and Indians ensued, including a number of massacres of Indian women and children. By 1860, military raids had accounted for over 4,000 deaths, 12% of the Indian population. Populations were further reduced by starvation, resulting from the disruption of food supplies caused by mining and farming operations. Public policy adversely affected the position of Indians: in 1850, a law was passed which enabled any White man to declare any Indian a vagrant, and to sell his labor for up to four months without pay; kidnapping of Indian children was also legalized. A number of large reservations were established between 1853 and 1887, and many small rancherias were set aside beginning in 1906, but reservation land in California never exceeded 500,000 acres (Castillo, 1978). The nature of the small and isolated rancherias contributed to the fracturing of Native American culture in California.

During the twentieth century, the situation of California Indians became more similar to that in the rest of the country, with termination policies causing further confusion among, and upheaval of, the Indian population. The movement to relocate Indians to cities, as an adjunct to the termination policy, however, was highly exaggerated in California, with an immigration of 60,000 to 70,000 Indians to the Los Angeles and San Francisco areas, accounting for more than one-half of the relocated Indians in the U.S., (Cook, 1978) and increasing the diversity of Indian tribes and cultures in the state. Thus, whereas the movement to establish local colleges was naturally tied to large tribes in other states, the climate in California, which had never been dominated by one tribe and which had been strongly influenced by immigrant Indian populations, favored a different type of movement.

Pan-American University Movement

Jack Forbes, who was almost single-handedly responsible for the idea of D-Q University, is of Powhatan-Renape, Delaware-Lenape, and Saponi background, and received his Ph.D. in history and anthropology from the University of Southern California in 1959 (Forbes, 1985). A poet and author of short fiction, Forbes had grand visions in the early 1960's, a time which he identified as "hopeful" (p. 2). In consultation with Carl and Mary Gorman, Navajo artists living in

California, Forbes wrote, in 1961, a "Proposal to Create an American Indian University." The article was published in the Navajo Times and mailed to many tribal leaders (Forbes, 1985).

In this early proposal, Forbes' major concern was trained leadership among American Indians:

Numerous Indian groups lack people possessing prerequisite educational skills for meeting the challenges posed by poverty, poor organization, rapid social change and a semi-hostile or neutral Anglo-American community. (p. 25)

Forbes identified the following crucial needs which could be fulfilled by his proposed institution: teacher training, special leadership training including Indian law, tribal law, and Indian culture; advanced native American arts education; education in social work; work in American Indian Studies, including both social sciences and religion and folklore; general education; pre-college training. The university would foster a sense of self-worth in students by helping them develop a sense of pride in their Native American heritage. Further goals included the establishment of a Cultural-Intellectual Center to spread knowledge of Indian culture, implement a literacy program both to develop alphabet for Indian languages which lack them and to teach tribal languages (Forbes, 1985).

The document sought to strike a political balance between advocating a segregated institution and not alienating possible Anglo patrons. Walking this thin line, Forbes wrote, "Many a young Indian has been handed intense inner

psychological problems by good-intentioned whites whose goal was to de-indianize the young person by deprecating the Indian heritage" (p. 27). The emphasis on Indian heritage was further qualified by statements such as, "This does not mean that the university should depreciate the values of the non-Indian heritage or artificially preserve the Indian way of life" (p. 27).

By 1963, according to Forbes, the proposal had been mailed to at least 34 tribal councils, fourteen Anglo organizations, and dozens of individual American Indians. Responses were mixed. Dillon Platero, a Navajo educational leader who later played a significant part in the foundation of Navajo Community College, wrote to Forbes that he considered the idea "an excellent one" and stated that he was "positive that the Navajo Tribal Council would consider your proposal upon receipt of more specific and detailed information" (p. 4).

Forbes reported support from some other American Indian leaders, silence from others, and general "reluctance to abandon assimilationist policies" in the Federal government (p. 6). He quoted a response from Senator Henry M. Jackson: "It is my own feeling that Indian students should continue to obtain their higher education in the established colleges" (p. 5). A response from John A. Carver, Jr., Assistant Secretary of the Interior, echoed Jackson's views: "We do not believe . . . that an Indian university as proposed would have any

greater impact on meeting these needs than the present avenues available to Indians as individuals or as tribal groups" (p. 6).

Although Forbes had, initially, considered the inauguration of John F. Kennedy as a signal of improvement in Indian policy, changes were slow in occurring. A 1961 American Indian Chicago Conference, attended by over 400 tribal representatives, resulted in "A Declaration of Indian Purpose," calling for increased self-determination. However, the declaration was generally ignored by federal policy makers (Szasz, 1977). Indeed, Forbes stated that the initial impetus to include Hispanics in the proposal was an attempt to "try to get around the B.I.A. by persuading the Government that there were millions of Indians for whom the B.I.A. offered to services whatsoever" (1985, p. 7).

Forbes communicated with newly-inaugurated Lyndon Johnson in December, 1963, opposing trends to educate Indians primarily in vocational skills, on both the grounds that "single-skill" training is educationally unsound and that it is too expensive. Instead, Forbes proposed "an American Indian comprehensive college or institute" (p. 37). He argued that such an institution could provide the needed "comprehensive, basic post-high school education" needed by students and could provide it much more inexpensively than numerous vocation training centers (p. 37). Forbes pointed out that government opposition to segregated institutions was

contradicted by the new B.I.A.-sponsored Institute of American Indian Arts at Santa Fe.

Under Johnson, various sources of new funding became available to American Indian institutions. Title III funds were used to begin a pre-college program at Fort Lewis College in Colorado which addressed both academic and cultural needs of American Indian students (Haymond, 1982). The newly-formed Office of Economic Opportunity began the Upward Bound program, with 5% of the participants being American Indians (Szasz, 1977). Talent Search, a division of Upward Bound, sought to identify promising American Indian junior-high school students and prepare them, through counseling and tutoring, for higher education. Native American Studies departments or units began to be founded in increasing numbers. (Haymond, 1982).

During the late 1960's and early 1970's, increased attention to a variety of concerns of minority populations spurred interest in American Indian causes. Publication of books such as Vine Deloria, Jr.'s Custer Died for Your Sins (1969) and Dee Brown's Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee (1970) caught the public interest. Popular media began to report about American Indian arts, crafts, and ceremonies, creating a new respect for American Indian culture and prompting new interest in American Indian causes among the general public.

In 1964, when Forbes moved to the University of Nevada, he first proposed the use of an abandoned military base as the site for an American Indian University. Forbes' proposal,

including the concession that the facilities at Stead Air Force Base could be managed by the University of Nevada for the Federal government, was unsuccessful (Forbes, 1985).

During 1965, Forbes wrote articles for Human Organization and the Journal of American Indian Education which revised the American Indian University proposal significantly in an attempt to gain Office of Economic Opportunity interest. Agricultural and other applied programs were designed to respond to the needs of rural-based Indians and to interest the OEO in inter-tribal institutions. The OEO response was to validate the tribal, rather than inter-tribal, approach (Forbes, 1985).

Throughout these early letters and proposals, Forbes expressed his doubt that mainstream institutions could provide effective education to indigenous students and his bitterness about the amount of funding given to mainstream institutions to attempt to educate American Indian students. A comment in an article in Journal of American Indian Education, 1966, is typical:

Nevertheless, the Federal government has recently been giving hundreds of millions of dollars each year to public and private, sectarian and non-sectarian universities Thus it would seem appropriate for Federal funds to be made available to aid an Indian-controlled institution. On the other hand, where Indians are concerned the government frequently demands more control than is the case with non-Indians. (1966, p. 23)

In 1967, crucial support for the university idea began with the founding, by David Risling, of the grassroots

California Indian Education Association. The CIEA, a state-wide organization provided a democratic power-base consisting of American Indian educators, parents, and students who supported the pan-Indian university project, among many other state-wide projects (Lutz, 1980). United Native Americans, an urban activist group, founded by Lehman Brightman, who still teaches at D-Q University, also voiced support for the university project (Brightman, 1992).

Funding finally materialized, not from government sources but from the Donner Foundation. In 1968, Forbes, who had moved to the Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development, secured \$20,000 for an American Indian University Pilot Project. Forbes completed survey research and supervised several courses during 1969 (Forbes, 1985).

During fall, 1969, Forbes accepted a position at the University of California at Davis to begin its Native American studies program, the Tecumsah Center. When David Risling joined the faculty in early 1970, they began a library of materials related to issues of indigenous peoples, in cooperation with Chicano educators at Davis. Both men quickly became disenchanted with mainstream educational support for Native American Studies. Risling commented, "They let us have just a little tokenism to keep us quiet. . . . The administration promised us a research unit and everything else. But they stalled and just lost interest" (Janssen, 1974, p. 46).

Also in 1969, the CIEA directed Risling to begin looking for a suitable site for an American Indian university. That year, Sarah Hutchinson, a Cherokee and a Sacramento psychotherapist and two Sacramento physicians, who had been developing plans for an American Indian medical school, met with Forbes and Risling and agreed to attempt to incorporate the medical school into the American Indian university idea (Forbes, 1985).

Early in 1970, the General Services Administration declared surplus a former Army communications center near Davis. On July 30th, D-Q University was incorporated and the decision was made to prepare a proposal and apply for the site. Initial applications were due on October 20th. Between eight and eighteen other organizations (according to various sources), including U.C. Davis, which wanted the site for primate research, also applied. After government officials explained, in September, that educational institutions would have priority, the number of applicants dropped to two: D-Q and U.C. Davis. During October, two D-Q U. trustees met, in Washington, with officials of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, to apply for a \$50,000 planning grant, and, according to Forbes, members of the HEW staff were assigned to secure a grant for the university. D-Q submitted a completed application for the property on October 20th. According to Forbes and others, the U.C. Davis proposal was incomplete at this time (Reghaby, 1979).

However, in late October, Senator George Murphy issued a press release stating that the site would be awarded to the University of California. Forbes states, "Thus it appeared as if what had happened in Nevada in 1966 was to repeat itself. But that was not to happen" (p. 21). The success of the American Indians in gaining the land was partially the result of national events between 1966 and 1970. The mood of the country had changed, and the growth of Red Power was one of those changes.

Political Movements

A variety of forces combined to foster the Pan-Indian movement: opposition to the war in Vietnam; anti-poverty programs established in the mid-1960's, particularly the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Economic Development Administration; the rise of Black civil rights movements; and general interest in alternative cultures and lifestyles. According to Alvin Josephy, "Indians became positive, though somewhat unreal, symbols for environmentalists, idealistic liberals, and the alienated" (1988, p. 267).

In 1968, in Minneapolis, Clyde Bellecourt, Dennis Banks, and others founded the American Indian Movement, initially called "Concerned Indian Americans," a name which was quickly changed because of its acronym (Matthiessen, p. 37). One of the first AIM-sponsored occupations was the take-over of Alcatraz Island in November of 1969, by the "Indians of All

Tribes." At the heart of this movement was an educational interest. Among the reasons cited in the "Proclamation to the Great White Father and All His People" that the island was suitable for a reservation, "as determined by the white man's own standards," (bluecloud, 1972, p. 41) were the lack of educational facilities besides the lack of industry, health care facilities, and even such necessities as running water. The Indians of All Tribes stated that the first Indian institution they would establish would be a Center for Native American Studies which would "educate them to the skills and knowledge relevant to improve the lives and spirits of all Indian peoples" (p. 41). In an article explaining the legal rights of the Indians at Alcatraz and the moral implications of the Alcatraz occupation, Jack Forbes asserted that the Indians were "in great need of facilities for educational cultural programs" (p. 44). Forbes continued, speculating about the peculiar actions of the U.S. Government:

Indian people find it strange that the government has quickly and efficiently turned over such facilities as the Roswell (N.M.) Air Force Base, the Stead (Nev.) Air Force Base, and Madera Radar Station, and Camp Parks to white profit-making corporations (such as Philco-Ford, RCA, Litton, etc.) and has then paid them to operate the facilities for Indian training programs, paid them to hire and train white experts to do the training, and denied Indians a chance to participate in this game of give-away facilities and guaranteed profits. (bluecloud, 1972, p. 45)

Clearly Forbes, who was looking for a site for the Indian University, saw Alcatraz as a precedent for abandoned federal land being awarded to Indian communities.

D-Q University: Winter, 1970-71

Early on the morning of election day, 1970, American Indian students from U.C. Davis, Sacramento State College, and a few other nearby institutions scaled the chain-link fence and occupied the abandoned Army depot near Davis, with their Chicano colleagues supplying food and water, bedding and clothing. Students, some of whom the New York Times stated were "veterans of Alcatraz" climbed the fence before daylight, raised "a big, white teepee" and prepared themselves to stay (1970, p. 6). Simultaneously, professional supporters of D-Q, including Forbes, Risling, and Hutchison, contacted the California Indian Legal Services and initiated court action to halt the projected transfer of the land to U.C.-Davis (Lutz, p. 23). According to Lutz, who interviewed many D-Q leaders during 1980, one faculty member, "went out to the Army Communication Center the night before the occupation, there pretending to have some car-trouble as an excuse to stop and check out how many soldiers there would be on guard" (p. 23).

Although the University of California formally withdrew its application on December 4th, by then, the occupation had taken on a life of its own, which did not end formally until January 12, 1971, shortly before keys to the property were given to D-Q officials. The occupation did not end actually until April. Alice Jurish, a reporter for the local Winters Express, commented in 1987 that the occupation, "had generated doubt and suspicion in the minds of some" (p. 2).

An interview with one of the occupiers sheds some light on the reasons for local residents' suspicion. Roger Neadeau, an Ojibway from Minnesota, who had been active in AIM since the Alcatraz occupation, talked with Lutz in 1980, when Neadeau was a student at U.C. Davis ten years after the occupation of D-Q. Neadeau stated that, originally, the occupiers were students at U.C. Davis. Then, in mid-November, about a dozen American Indians who were at Alcatraz,

. . . heard that people had occupied an abandoned army site in Davis. Me and a few other people I met on Alcatraz, they and everybody were just curious. . . So, I decided to come along with them. . . We would go and stay out here for a while, then we would go out again to Alcatraz, stay at Alcatraz for a while, then come back up here. And then we had a lot of stuff up at Pit River at that time and we used to go up to Pit River, also, to give them support. (p. 90)

Neadeau's description, which emphasizes both the occupiers' concern for a variety of causes and their general lack of knowledge about the D-Q University movement, is confirmed by an article by Forbes, Risling, and Kenneth Martin, who stated that the initial band of students was soon joined by,

. . . Indians who were non-students or ex-students.
. . . Many of these newcomers were unaware of the history of the D-Q movement and did not understand or wish to adhere to a multiple strategy of occupation in support of formal acquisition by recognized procedures. Instead, they argued for simple seizure or 'liberation.' (p. 96)

According to the academicians, the activists brought with them drugs, alcohol, and a "confrontational philosophy" (Forbes, Risling, and Martin, 1972, p. 96), and, as the American Indian students left the occupation to return to classes, the

occupation became more problematic. By January, events climaxed, with the occupiers refusing to allow others to enter the site. According to Forbes, Risling, and Martin, a meeting on February 2nd was "largely successful" in that a majority of participants reached agreement to democratically select a Board of Trustees (1972, p. 96).

After the meeting, however, six occupiers remained in the compound, and an incident in February further damaged relations with people in the surrounding area. On the night of February 19th, a fire gutted the small guard shack. According to Neadeau, a space heater had set a sleeping bag on fire. A young occupier, Manuel Cortez, was badly burned. Neadeau stated that two occupiers who accompanied Cortez to a local hospital pulled knives on a doctor who refused to treat Cortez because Cortez did not have medical insurance. A nurse at the hospital told a local reporter that, "There was much screaming and yelling from the moment they stepped inside the hospital," and, "Without provocation, [the doctor] was pushed up against the wall and a knife was held against his throat" (The Daily Democrat, 1971, February 20, p. 2). No arrests were made, but the activists who had helped gain control of land for D-Q University had not only gained a national press article about the young institution but also damaged its image in surrounding communities. D-Q's roots, in both educational and activists movements, would influence its character and cause it continuing problems throughout the next two decades.

Chapter IV

Survival

Prologue on the Process

Gathering information about the period from 1972-1989 was both the most frustrating and the most fascinating exercise in this study. The early years seem hazy, partially because of the deaths of several of the presidents, partially because records kept during this frantic period were few, most significantly because there has been no effort to preserve the more unpleasant aspects of those years as part of the culture of the college. Much information came from a study completed by a German exchange professor, Hartmut Lutz, under the direction of David Risling at the Tecumsah Center of the University of California, Davis, during 1980. Lutz had access to both Risling's and Forbes' private papers, and he worked at D-Q for a number of months. Although obviously colored by Lutz' Marxist ideology, his study provides details which might, had he not written, have been lost. There seemed to be no attempt to directly suppress information about the early years; college personnel whom I interviewed often stated that they did not remember details.

In contrast, information about the Banks years and the

suit and counter-suit is widely known and frequently mentioned at D-Q. Both experiences are lauded as evidence of two of the primary myths of the school: that it has roots in radical self-determination and that it has survived persecution by the federal government. Information is so widely known that, often, people talked in a "code" which, initially, was almost impossible for me to understand. Only after I read through the entire file cabinet which Harvey Peoples offered did I understand references to "Demas" and "Bell's settlement." However, the information in the file cabinet was both intriguing and intriguingly incomplete, and it could be completed only by U.S. government records.

Obtaining information from the federal government was significantly more complex than looking through Harvey's file cabinet. Being a relative novice in government research, I agonized for a month about how to approach the Federal Bureau of Investigation, until a practical colleague suggested that I simply call the FBI and ask how to access its records. Much to my surprise, one week after the telephone call, I received a clearly written pamphlet, Conducting Research at the Federal Bureau of Investigation (1992), explaining reasonably simple procedures. Since the American Indian Movement file had been declared "open," I needed only to make an appointment to see it.

"It" turned out to be seventeen foot-high stacks of memos, reports, and evaluations, organized generally

chronologically, but with no index. My "guide," who accompanied me even to the bathroom during my mornings of research, explained that she would immediately copy any documents I wanted. Although the documents had been "cleaned" of references to specific people and (sometimes) specific places with heavy black marker, they told a fascinating story of both successful information gathering and fruitless tracking of inaccurate rumors.

Having conquered accessing F.B.I. information, I was totally unprepared for the complexity and the frustration of working with the Departments of Education and Justice. I began attempting to access records of the 1983-1988 suit and counter-suit between D-Q and the Department of Education by calling the Department of Justice, which, I thought, would have handled the case. After a week, the Docket's Clerk, who had been on vacation, and whom I had been told would know the location of the files, returned my call. Mr. Wiggins informed me that he knew nothing about the file except that attorney Thomas Millett had been the Washington contact for the D-Q suit (1993). Mr. Millett, who remembered the case vividly and characterized it as, "Unique," and, "So unusual that it had a Washington D.C. monitor," said that I needed to write to the National Archives as he had no idea where the file had gone. He suspected that it was in, "The great file room in the sky," which, when further questioned, he located as "Somewhere in Virginia or Maryland." Mr. Millett suggested that I go to

Sacramento to access the records there as, "It would be easier," than locating them in the National Archives. He only laughed when I asked why it would be easier to travel across the entire country than to drive ninety miles to Washington from Richmond (1993).

The National Archives officer, Mr. Gustafson, responded promptly to my request, explaining that, "We have the records but we don't really HAVE them." After a lengthy conversation, I deduced that this statement meant that, although the National Archives had physical custody of the records, their personnel did not have authority to release them. Although he assured me that he had a federal directory, he stated that he could not find, "this Millett person anywhere." He finally decided that I should write to the Records Officer in the Department of Education Records office, which I did (1993).

Aloha South, in the Department of Education Records office, telephoned me on November 3, 1993, stating that my request had been forwarded to her and that I needed to file an official FOIA request, which I did the next day (1993). On December 5th, I received a response to my request from J. Carolyn Adams, an Operations Officer, making it quite clear that, although "freedom" in the Freedom of Information Act may mean ability to access, it does not mean monetarily "free," or even reasonably priced. In part, the letter reads,

Searching for these records probably means retrieving many records from the National Records Center [presumably Millett's 'great file room in

the sky'] and whatever costs the Department and the Center incur in retrieving the records will be included in the overall cost estimate for searching for the records. . . Copying costs cannot be calculated because you request that you see the records first. However, before you can see the records, they would have to be reviewed to determine if there are any records responsive to your request. (1993)

I suspected, from this response, that the difficulty lay in my requesting records of the suit only. Hence, I telephoned Ms. Adams on December 9th and explained to her that I would be happy to look at all the records myself in order to avoid the cost of someone else's examining them. She explained to me that this was impossible because a lawyer would need to review them first and there were, "at least five or six large boxes." When I asked for an estimate of the cost of reviewing the records, Ms. Adams explained that I would need to pay an attorney's "usual fees," which she estimated as, "well over \$500.00 for the review." She also explained that I would need to agree to pay all these costs before the search for the records began.

Although I wanted, for both professional and, by now, personal reasons, to see these files, I did not have these funds. When I asked Ms. Adams if this was normal procedure, and if costs were usually this high, she responded that the D-Q case was "a bit unusual." Her response to my dismay that accessing records which were, supposedly, "free" could cost over \$500.00, was that she did not make policy.

Thus, the saga of D-Q University and the U.S. Government,

which follows in this chapter, is based on documents which Harvey Peoples, the D-Q librarian gave me and on interviews with D-Q employees and on newspaper accounts. Perhaps, someday, I will be able to write a more completely informed history.

The Early Years: Visions and Realities

"The Land is Ours!" read the headline on the first issue of the D-Q newspaper (1971). On Deed Day, April 2, 1971, a grand celebration marked the official receipt from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, of the deed to D-Q's 643 acres of land (Janssen, 1973).

The land received was described in a local newspaper as "A forest of antenna poles with four usable buildings and two barracks in the middle" (Daily Democrat, 1971, October 3, p. 2). Signs indicated the site's past: some buildings were designated as "off-limits to enlisted personnel;" a parking space was still "reserved for executive officer" (Janssen, 1973, p.46). There were no central heating, cooling, or telephone systems in the buildings, which had been built in 1951 (D-Q Academic Master Plan, 1992).

However, two large signs at the main gate announced, "Universidad Deganawidah Quetzalcoatl" in red and brown letters (Janssen, 1973). Deganawidah, according to tradition, born of a virgin, was the founder of the Iroquois federation of nations; Quetzalcoatl was the Aztec leader who "symbolizes

the principles of wisdom and self-discipline" (D-Q University General Catalogue, 1990, p. 4). In 1972, D-Q's name garnered the college the peculiar distinction of a snippet in Playboy magazine, which noted,

We hail the trustees of Deganawidah-Quetzalcoatl University, the nation's only college for Indians and Mexican-Americans for adopting a sensible resolution to shorten its name to Delihnayto-Quetzalcoatl University. (1972, February, p. 22)

This paragraph is sandwiched between one awarding the Playboy "Impeccable Taste in Advertising Award" to a cemetery whose sign reads, "Now you can enjoy dying," and a paragraph about oral-genital relations among married couples--an indication of the magazine's attitude toward experiments in higher education. The official name of the college was changed to read only "D-Q University" after a visiting Iroquois chief explained to D-Q personnel that his tribe considered it sacrilegious to use the name of a deceased chief except during religious ceremonies or emergencies (Janssen, 1973).

David Risling, U.C. Davis professor and first chairman of the Board of Trustees, declared that,

This is a milestone in history; Indian history is no longer in the past. It's happening here. We will have an institution to tell the truth, which we haven't had before. It will change the misconceptions of history. (McBride, 1971 p. 1)

Adam Nordwall, Chairman of the United Bay Area Council of American Indian Affairs Chairman, presented a sacred calumet to the college; an Indian pow wow and a Chicano fiesta began

in the afternoon and continued through the night (McBride, 1971).

During the summer, Kay Starr visited the college and talked with the initial class of students. Starr was quoted as saying that she had "roped off the entire summer to work on this project," but no further mention was made of her work on behalf of D-Q (quoted in Daily Democrat, 1971, August 8, p. 7).

Original plans were grandiose. According to Risling, the institution would include the functions of the community college, the state college, and the university system (California Aggie, 1970). Rather than emphasizing vocational objectives, an initial goal of several tribal colleges, or cultural goals, the major impetus of Navajo Community College, D-Q's founders intended to do everything. The Articles of Incorporation lists six purposes:

- (a) To develop, publish, sponsor, and disseminate educational materials and programs relative to American Indians, Mexican Americans, and other groups.
- (b) To carry out research and sponsor studies relating to the history, culture, and affairs of American Indians, Mexican Americans and other groups.
- (c) To develop, publish, and disseminate materials designed to enhance the self-image and organizational abilities of American Indians, Mexican Americans, and other groups.
- (d) To make grants to organizations, agencies or individuals in furtherance of the above purposes.
- (e) To provide scholarships for American Indian, Mexican American and other students.
- (f) To develop, sponsor and operate a University-level program of higher education and

instruction, and to award appropriate certificates and degrees to students who benefit from said instruction.

(Articles of Incorporation, 1970)

Four interdependent institutions were envisioned. The first college, Tiburcio Vasquez, which was put into immediate operation, was designed to emphasize the trades, agriculture, forestry and small business administration. In spring of 1972, the son of the Lakota religious leader, Black Elk, dedicated the second college, Hehaka Sapa, to accomplish education in special Indian concerns such as water rights and treaty law (The Daily Democrat, 1972, February 4). A third planned college, Quetzalcoatl, was to concentrate on Chicano issues; and the fourth, named after the doctor Carlos Montezuma, would train health services professionals (Janssen, 1973).

In Forbes' early papers, it is clear that D-Q founders were attempting to forge an educational institution radically different from the norm. In 1971, Forbes stated, "In creating D-Q we are building a new institution. We, therefore, do not need to imitate existing Anglo-American institutions" (1985, p. 118). The early plans envisioned students as preparing for comprehensive examinations which would prove their competency, and gain them degrees, through a variety of methods. Students could study by attending classes, by apprenticing to an expert, or by working independently:

For example, a student who wishes to major in Traditional Indian Studies would be able to study under a religious leader for three to seven years

(provided, of course, that he can prove to the leader that he is serious enough to be accepted as a pupil) and then probably, a group of traditional leaders would examine him at the end of that period. (Forbes, 1985 p. 119)

Forbes also envisioned a more traditional class structure for "most students in the United States [who] are nowadays accustomed to being coddled, cudgeled and spoon-fed" (1985, p. 120).

Compromises began almost as soon as D-Q did. In order to benefit from government and private philanthropic aid to education, the institution needed accreditation. Thus, it needed a structure consonant with the "normal" structure of colleges and universities. Forbes, a long-time educator in mainstream institutions, recognized the inherent conflict between innovative efforts and accreditation standards:

Most legislation, most accrediting agencies, most educational systems are not geared to learning; they're geared to a structure and a sequence of events. . . . In trying to get D-Q started and qualified for aid, we were up against that procedure. (quoted in Janssen, 1973, p. 48)

In 1979, Forbes further explained the abandonment of the original plan by stating that lack of funds had forced D-Q to seek junior college accreditation. "This, in turn, led to the abandonment of any higher-level work at the insistence of the junior college accreditation people" (1985, p. 22). And accreditation was a provision of the land grant from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. This was granted, on a provisional basis, by the Western Association in early 1971. (Janssen, 1973).

The first four years were both disruptive and exciting. The first president, Jose de la Isla, served for only one year. De la Isla had previously been an administrator with the American Association of Junior Colleges, and he returned to this post in July, 1972 (Lutz, 1980). According to Lutz, de la Isla experienced "difficulties with students which led to a confrontation" (1980, p. 30). An editorial in the Davis Daily Democrat described de la Isla's isolation from the students and some of the staff members, who approached the board with their complaints, essentially demanding de la Isla's resignation (1972, April 4). Although no further details describe this situation, Forbes' description of the students D-Q wanted to attract might explain the difficulties. The first group, "might be classified as hoods;" the second are more traditional Indians who retain their heritage; the third group are the "normal, stable group of Indians and Chicanos who make it through white schools" (Janssen, 1972, p. 49). Forbes stated that,

. . . when the groups had been thrown together, such as during the occupation of Alcatraz or demonstrations in Los Angeles, the first group was so hostile that it eventually drove away the other two. (quoted in Janssen, 1972)

The fact that Forbes recognized the nature of the projected student body and continued to persist in championing D-Q University is evidence of extreme dedication.

Early Federal Grants: The Beginnings of Conflict

D-Q's stormy relationship with the U.S. Government began shortly after Deed Day, although, initially, the relationship seemed to be a mutually beneficial one. In 1972, D-Q was given control of a 3.1 million dollar Migrant Farmworker Project, sponsored by the Department of Labor, designed to provide equipment to and teach both Mexican migrant workers and the social welfare people most involved with the migrant workers. The project had, initially, been offered to the State of California, and Lutz, from his anti-establishment perspective, believed that it was,

. . . a program designed to 'pay-off' the pro-Nixon Chicano voters while at the same time trying to 'neutralize' or set against each other those members of the Chicano community who opposed Nixon and who were therefore considered 'radical.' (1980, p. 34)

In the absence of any evidence of the government's ulterior motives, however, it seems as probable that D-Q, as a half-Chicano institution, might have been seen as the logical home for the project, or that the government might have been attempting to indicate its support for the fledgling institution.

Whatever the motive, the project created immediate disruption of an institution which was in its organizational infancy. According to Lutz, virtually the only available source on this period, a Chicano director, paid by the California Department of Labor, but responsible to the D-Q President and Board, was appointed. The Director hired his

own staff and managed at least at least five different project sites. In a board election in 1972, seven candidates from various project sites were elected to the D-Q Board; according to Lutz, these seven members "caused friction" on the board by valuing the project more than they did the new college (p. 35).

The major problems with the U.S. Government occurred at the conclusion of the project, and seem the result of confusion rather than animosity on either side. With six months remaining in the project, one of the project sites requested to purchase some of the equipment. Because of the impending conclusion of the project, D-Q suggested, instead, a lease agreement. The Department of Labor overruled D-Q, allowing the site to purchase the equipment. However, when the project concluded a few months later, the DOL requested that all equipment be returned to D-Q. This situation placed D-Q in the middle of a bureaucratic muddle, requesting that equipment which the DOL had allowed to be purchased, be returned. The resulting controversy created feelings of ill-will toward an institution which had had little time to create a positive public image. According to the History of Investigations of D-Q University prepared by the law firm of Abinanti & Associates in 1980, the Migrant Workers project also resulted in a "general review" of D-Q conducted by the Office of Economic Opportunity of the State of California. The report describes a curious incident:

A D-Q employee informed D-Q of this investigation she had discovered while employed by the State of California. . . . The informant had been in charge of shredding the investigation files. Prior to their destruction her review of the files indicated among other things, that people had been planted at D-Q. (1980, p. 1)

Since the files no longer exist, corroboration is impossible.

The same Abinanti & Associates report lists an F.B.I. report about activity at D-Q. According to the report, an attorney for the American Indian Movement found, "information indicating F.B.I. activity in connection with D-Q University," during 1972 (p. 1). I found no information about D-Q in the 1972 F.B.I. files I examined, but there was a great deal of information about AIM during that year.

At the conclusion of the Migrant Workers Project, the Department of Labor performed an audit of the program. According to the Abinanti and Associates report, a very negative draft audit was initially prepared and released, resulting in "a tremendous amount of bad publicity for D-Q" (1980, p. 2). Steve Baldy, who was serving as acting president, contacted the DOL to clarify numerous issues, and the final audit was not negative. In a letter to "Friends of D-Q U. in the Community," Baldy summarized the difficulties which the project caused D-Q:

D-Q University diverted a great amount of its energy and leadership to the management of this program with little or no help from the U.S. Department of Labor, which sent no technical assistance but two full-time auditors more interested in finding fault than in helping us build anything. (1976)

D-Q's problems with the federal government had begun.

More positively, during 1972-3, D-Q became involved in an entirely different type of project: the Native American Language Education Project (NALE). This project involved an innovative idea: teaching standard curricula in Native languages on the Zuni and Papago Reservations in Arizona. The project originated on the Papago Reservation in 1971, before D-Q became involved. According to Cip Manuel, a Papago elder, it was a grass-roots project initiated by the elders who were very enthusiastic about it (1980). Although the project was funded by the U.S. Office of Education, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, according to Manuel, "didn't really give any reason. They were just against it" (1980, p. 2). Initially successful, the project was eventually killed by friction between local leaders and B.I.A. agents.

The Zuni project, in contrast, was, and continues to be, successful. D-Q provided financial administration and educational expertise, but the control of the project remained in Zuni hands. A more homogenous tribe than the Papago, the Zuni developed materials in the native language which are still in use in reservation schools. None of the types of difficulties experienced with the Migrant Workers Project occurred with the NALE grant. (Lutz, 1980).

American Indian Higher Education Consortium

During the early years, D-Q administrators were also involved in Indian education political movements and national searches for stable funding. In 1972, Gerald One Feather of Oglala Sioux Community College, David Risling of D-Q, Pat Locke of the Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education, and Helen Schierbeck of the United States Office of Education organized a meeting for all people interested in forming a national organization to promote unity among the ten tribal colleges which had been founded and, also, according to Risling, "to [stifle] those who would use tribal differences to create havoc within this unique movement" (quoted in Stein, 1988, p. 182). Another concern was the tribal colleges' desire to organize their opposition to a movement by several Native American Studies Programs at major universities such as U.C.L.A. and the University of Pennsylvania to secure Title III funding which the Tribal Colleges wanted for themselves (Lutz, 1980).

The organizational meeting, held in October, 1972, in Washington D.C. included representatives of all Indian post-secondary institutions: D-Q University, Haskell Junior College, Hehaka Sapa College, Institute of American Indian Arts, Navajo Community College, Oglala Sioux Community College, Sinte Gleska College, Southwest Indian Polytechnic Institute (SIPI), Standing Rock Community College, and Turtle Mountain Community College. The participants found that they

shared five major characteristics: cultural and geographical isolation, location in areas of chronic poverty, American Indian Boards of Directors and primarily Indian faculty and administration, small student bodies, and unpredictable and inadequate funding (One Feather, 1974).

The new organization was named the American Indian Higher Education Consortium, the final word echoing Title III terminology (Lutz, 1980). Helen Schierbeck encouraged the new organization to pursue Title III funding. However, confusion occurred when it was realized that the three B.I.A. institutions--SIPI, Haskell, and IAIA--were ineligible for Title III funds because of a federal ruling that one federal program could not benefit financially from another. This ruling was used to exclude the B.I.A. institutions from AIHEC. Stein explains that,

The exclusion of the federal institutions was not viewed by some . . . as a great loss. They felt that having B.I.A. institutions in AIHEC would only give the B.I.A. the opportunity to meddle in TCCC's business. (1988, p. 184)

AIHEC was formally chartered in the State of Colorado and established headquarters in Denver in June, 1973. Its initial goals were to establish an American Indian Higher Education Accreditation Agency, a Financial and Institutional Resource Office, a Human Resource Development Program, an American Indian Education Data Bank, and an American Indian Curriculum Development Program. It met in September of that year at D-Q to select its full-time staff and to establish, as its first

priority, locating stable funding sources for its member institutions (One Feather, 1974). The efforts to draft and pass legislation, P.L. 95-471, consumed five years (Stein, 1990).

Social Causes and Intellectual Ferment

Meanwhile, D-Q administrators pursued their goal to become a center for national and international social revolution. In 1973, D-Q hosted a conference of the National Indian Institute for Mental Health (Lutz, 1980), and, in 1974, several hundred students and scholars gathered for a Third World Conference, which resulted in a collection of essays written by California scholars from a variety of disciplines, including Dr. Richard G. Tansey, an art historian at California State University in San Jose; George Von der Muhl, a political scientist from College V at U.C. Santa Cruz; and Sarah Anne Shames, a student from Santa Cruz (Reghaby, 1974). Participants in the Third World Conference praised the knowledge they gained and the contacts they made. One can only wonder what the local ranching community's reactions to presentation such as the poetry of Wallace Allen must have been:

We been lettin' ourselves get led around
by a jive-ass, freaked-out, money-hungry clown. . .
And we know it ain't cool what's goin' down.
It's time for us to re-arrange!
(quoted in Reghaby, 1974)

In its attempt to be "all things to all people (Indian)"

in its early years, the tiny institution seems, in retrospect, to have taken little time to direct its energies toward building a stable administrative base. Its survival is a testimony to the amazing energy of its administrators, however confused their focus.

1975: Dennis Banks, AIM, and Publicity

Although D-Q had, from its beginnings, been involved with American Indian political and social movements, some of them radical, direct involvement with the American Indian Movement increased dramatically with the arrival of AIM leader, Dennis Banks, in 1975. Banks, who had become one of the best known of the AIM leaders, was born an Anishinabi (Chippewa) in Minnesota in 1932. After fourteen years in B.I.A. boarding schools and three years in the Air Force, Banks, like many other dislocated American Indians, spent ten years, "bumming around between the reservation and Minneapolis and St. Paul--there were no jobs, no nothing'" (quoted in Matthiessen, 1980, p. 35). Banks also spent two and a half years in a Minnesota prison for burglary (Mortiz, 1992). In 1968, Banks and Clyde Bellecourt and Eddie Benton Banai, two Ojibwa ex-convicts, formed the "Concerned Indian Americans," a name which, because of its acronym, was speedily changed to the "American Indian Movement" (Matthiessen, 1980).

Because of the variety of its activities and its clearly political nature, descriptions of AIM vary drastically. Alvin

M. Josephy states that, ". . . the American Indian Movement probably never had the influence in the Indian community that the American media believed it had" (1988, p. 78). Clyde Bellecourt described AIM's goals as a desire to, "teach our kids the truth about Indian people . . . that some old white man in lace shirt and powdered wig was not our 'Great White Father'" (quoted in Matthiessen, 1980, p. 114).

In addition to establishing a number of "survival schools" where this education was focused, AIM initially worked on housing and employment problems and eventually became involved in political actions such as the occupation of Alcatraz and Wounded Knee.

The F.B.I. began a full investigation of AIM in the early 70's, in response to a directive from the Attorney General, which reads, in part:

There is ample evidence that the American Indian Movement (AIM) had made extensive use of acts of illegal force and violence, often of an extreme nature with the clear purpose, direct and indirect, to substantially impair the functioning of the Government of the United States . . . (MP 157-1458, 1977)

Known as a disciplined, sober, directed leader, Banks was involved in both the Alcatraz and the Wounded Knee occupations.

Banks came to D-Q, where he taught, administered, and influenced people and policies from 1975-1982, by a circuitous route. Convicted in 1975 on charges based on the Custer, South Dakota, courthouse riots in 1973, Banks skipped bail,

explaining later that he "feared for his life" in South Dakota custody because South Dakota Attorney General William Janklow had stated that he wanted to "[put] a bullet through the heads of AIM leaders" (quoted in Churchill and Wall, 1988, p. 343). Underground, Banks went to Colorado, then Oregon, then San Francisco, where he was arrested for transporting arms and fleeing the scene of an investigation in Oregon. At the Oregon trial, the charges were dismissed, and Banks was returned to California. When South Dakota Governor Richard Kneip demanded Banks' extradition, Banks appealed to California Governor Jerry Brown for refuge. Supported both by a California Supreme Court decision that Brown was not required to extradite Banks and by 1.4 million signatures (including those of Jane Fonda and Marlon Brando) on a petition asking Brown to grant asylum to Banks, Governor Brown refused the extradition request, and Banks settled at D-Q (Mortiz, 1992). He served as an instructor, apprentice to the President, and Chancellor of D-Q until 1982, when conservative George Deukmejian's election to the governorship of California ended Banks' asylum in the state (Churchill and Wall, 1980).

Banks' arrival brought some immediate changes to D-Q. Banks had advocated the prohibition of drugs and alcohol at AIM functions for years, and, with his arrival, D-Q became a "dry" campus (Lutz, 1980), which it remains in the 1990's. Banks also brought the Sun Dance to D-Q and, with it, F.B.I. attention.

By 1975, Darrell Standing Elk, a Sioux from Rosebud, South Dakota, had already built several permanent sweat lodges at D-Q. When Banks arrived and indicated his intention to continue his yearly practice of sun dancing, even though he could not leave California, D-Q seemed the logical place for the ceremony. Standing Elk built a sun dance arbor, which he described several years later: "We centered everything on the arbor. One line there, its centered all the way from the tree at the entrance, the fire-pit and the tipi, -its all centered" (quoted in Lutz, 1980, p.62). Since sun dancing is a Plains Indian ritual, there was some opposition to the ceremony being performed at D-Q in California. Standing Elk explained: "Yeah, sometimes they say it doesn't belong to them. . . It's not their religion. I think it is good that they try those things. They don't have to participate." (p. 62).

The first sun dance, in 1976, attracted little attention. However, in July, 1977, the Sacramento office of the F.B.I. was,

. . . following this matter closely with the Yolo County SO, and the Federal Probation and Parole Office, which has an interest in individuals possibly to attend the sundance ceremony such as LEONARD CROW DOG and [name blocked out].
(FBI transmission, 1977, July 28)

This same airtel describes the F.B.I.'s view of D-Q:

For information of the Bureau and recipient offices, since its inception DQU has been sustained through grants from the federal government, justified by their claim of establishing and operating a legitimate university dedicated toward teaching Indian culture. The fact is, however, that

DQU has not operated effectively with the student body rarely in excess of 20 and supported by administrators and other staff with substantial salaries. It has consistently been regarded and reported to be a haven and sanctuary for transients and militants, both Chicano and Indian, and the Sacramento Office is presently in the midst of a Fraud Against the Government investigation concerning DQU. (1977)

In a later transmission, the Sacramento Office elaborated on this description, adding that D-Q was a "quasi-educational institution," and that "there are no classes being held and no bona fide student program at DQU" (1977, August 1-21). In contrast to Banks' prohibition on alcohol and drugs, the same FBI report describes the sun dance ceremony as a "fanatical rite . . . accompanied by the heavy use of mind-expanding stimulants, primarily peyote." Five other transmissions, listing the sun dance as the subject, from offices as diverse as Portland, San Diego, and Salt Lake City, are too heavily edited to be useful. Clearly, the F.B.I.'s interest in AIM and in Dennis Banks had led to its interest in D-Q U.

The Western Association of Schools and Colleges did not agree with the F.B.I.'s estimation of D-Q U. and, in 1977, granted D-Q full accreditation. In his speech at the celebratory ceremony, Risling stated that, "The spirit is here, the philosophy is here. We may not have the buildings here, but when it comes to philosophy, we will stand up to Harvard or Yale" (quoted in Thomas, 1977, p. 14). The newspaper article describing the event concludes with a

description of an honor song chanted by "fugitive Ojibwa Indian Dennis Banks" (p. 14). Even in success, D-Q's local reputation was linked to Banks' illegal status.

The spirit and philosophy to which Risling referred were, in 1978, radical ones, partially because of national events, partially, probably, because of Banks' presence. In 1978, eleven bills were pending in Congress which would have adversely affected Indian land and water rights. Banks and other AIM leaders organized a peaceful protest entitled, "The Longest Walk," beginning at Alcatraz and D-Q in February and arriving in Washington in July, to protest these bills. Lutz' comment that, "In the U.S., however, a total news-blackout was almost completely successful" (p. 41) is not an exaggeration. The event was not mentioned in either the Washington Post or The New York Times, although an four-column editorial in the Smithsonian described the arrival of "about a thousand Indians, representing some 80 tribes" (Page, 1978).

The march was closely followed by the F. B. I., beginning with a description of,

A CROSS-COUNTRY SOJURN BY NATIVE AMERICANS TO
PROTEST LEGISLATION UNDER CONSIDERATION BY THE
U.S. CONGRESS AND UNFOUNDED RUMORS INDICATE AMERICAN
INDIAN MOVEMENT MEMBERS OR SUPPORTERS WILL PARTICIPATE
. . . INCLUDING DENNIS BANKS OF AIM, ACTRESS JANE FONDA
AND POLITICIAN TOM HAYDEN.

(Routine Transmission to Director, 11 Feb 1978)

Further F. B. I. reports followed the varying number of walkers across the country, reporting daily on their progress (F.B.I. communications, 1978).

Although Banks had never intended to complete the walk, because he needed to drop out "within a safe distance of the California-Nevada border" (Airtel to Director, 1978), the organization of the march had caused both personnel and organizational problems at D-Q. According to Lutz, the board of directors had, in unity, decided to support the march. However, as bills for telephone and utilities began rising, the president, Manuel Alonzo, began to question the practicality of D-Q's involvement. After Alonzo resigned, because of a serious accidental injury, in September, acting president Charlie Cambridge asked for a board resolution that any organization using D-Q's facilities would need to pay its own expenses. The board passed the resolution; the Longest Walk office moved from D-Q to San Francisco, but the walk became a peculiar part of D-Q's mythology (Lutz, 1980).

Numerous D-Q publications, throughout the 1980's carried the logo, "D-Q U: Home of The Longest Walk." Several signs carrying this information remained at the school in 1992. Yet, no student whom I questioned about the nature of the protest knew its cause or any details about it. No one mentioned the event to me, and, when I asked about it, the response from one administrator was, "Oh, yes, that was a big deal then." It seems to have entered the mythology of the school as a symbolic phrase, not as an historical event.

Various press reports during 1978-1979 are evidence both of Banks' high profile at D-Q and of the support he attracted

from the entertainment community. An article in the third world forum in 1979 described a "field trip" during which 150 students from U.C. Davis participated in a sweat lodge purification ceremony (Aquilera, 1979). Another article describes a visit by Jane Fonda, who broke ground for a solar student housing project (Davis Daily Democrat, 1979, December 2). Kenny Rankin performed at a concert at D-Q in November, 1979 (Davis Daily Democrat, 1979, November 20). Each of these articles includes a photograph of Banks.

TCCC: Permanent Funding and Fundamental Change

Another major occurrence in 1978 permanently changed the structure of the college. When the Tribally Controlled Community College Act was originally fashioned by AIHEC members, the institutions were defined as those, "chartered," by an Indian Tribe. D-Q, as the only inter-tribal institution, and the only one not located on a reservation, did not fit this definition. David Risling successfully lobbied AIHEC to alter the language to include D-Q by adding the phrase, "or sanctioned," by an Indian Tribe. To meet this requirement, D-Q was sanctioned by Soboba, Chemehuevi, Karok, and Coast Indian Community of the Resighini Rancheria, all federally recognized tribal governments. However, AIHEC would not compromise on its requirement that the member institutions, those which would be funded under the act, have all-Indian Boards of Governors (Stein, 1988).

The college administration's difficult decision was either to retain the sixteen Chicano members on its Board, and its nature as an official Indian-Chicano institution and to risk perpetual under-funding, or to reorganize the board and assure itself of at least some permanent funding. Although President of D-Q, Charles Cambridge, opposed the reorganization of the board, practical concerns convinced the majority of the board members that the only way for D-Q to survive was to become an all-Indian institution (Lutz, 1980). A minority of the board members, led by Edmundo Lopez, remained bitter about what Lopez described as an Indian vote to limit the board to Indians (Castro, 1979).

According to 1992 President Carlos Cordero, who is, himself, Chicano, D-Q has continued to welcome Chicano students and Chicano issues, and the change in composition of the board was a necessity which did not dramatically affect the philosophy of the college. However, several staff members noted that Cordero sometimes identifies himself as "Aztec" rather than Chicano. D-Q's catalogue emphasizes both its American Indian structure, stating on the first page that, "The Board of Trustees consists of twenty Native American members," and its inclusive nature as a college which, "has successfully brought together Indigenous peoples of the North and Middle American continent" (1990).

The funds authorized under P.L. 95-471, although they have proven necessary for the operation of D-Q and other

Tribal Colleges, have been less dependable than was originally planned. Although the law authorized payment of \$4,000 per full-time student per year (1978), actual funds for the first two years varied from \$3,400 to \$2,800. In 1981, a variety of other problems were described by Tribal College Presidents who testified at the reauthorization hearing.

The major problem, mentioned repeatedly was that funds were not released each year until FTE was determined during a sixth-week census, usually in October. Thus, colleges began each year with no funds and only an estimate of what funds they would receive. LeRoy Clifford maintained that,

The sixth-week determination for the first-term formula poses planning problems, as resources to be used for retaining students (counseling, financial aid administration, academic advising) have been delayed. In this sense, the delays in the funding have directly contributed to the attrition, which in turn has led to reduced FTE funding. (Senate Hearing, 1980, p.18)

Another serious difficulty was a conflict between the colleges' missions and the government's definition of FTE as a funding basis. Joe McDonald, president of Salish Kootenai Community college explained that, although the colleges shared the mission of providing assistance to local populations in a variety of ways such as workshops and economic projects, only on-campus, credit-bearing classes were counted toward FTE by the government, leaving the colleges with the difficult decision of over-extending scarce resources to fulfill their populations' needs or ignoring those needs because the programs were not funded. Steve Baldy, of D-Q, argued that

summer school FTE needed to be counted because summer school was not "exotic, but necessary for students to complete degrees" (p. 23). Yet another difficulty influencing funding was the definition of Indian, which mandated tribal membership. According to LeRoy Clifford, AIHEC President, many biological American Indians did not belong to tribes, for various reasons, and, therefore could not be counted as, and funded as, Indian students. Clearly, many of these difficulties, although not all, were related to the colleges' differences from mainstream institutions and the government's difficulty in accommodating those differences.

In response to a question about other government funding, responses from the colleges differed. Mr. Bad Wound, President of Oglala Sioux Community College, complained about the competition in gaining Title III and National Science Foundation grants; Mr. Monette of Turtle Mountain Community College stated that his institution had very few problems in gaining funding and Mr. McDonald of Salish Kootenai agreed. Baldy, of D-Q, declined to answer the question other than stating, "We have not been very successful in securing support from the Department of Education." (p. 101), surely an understatement considering the problems which had begun in 1979.

The Reauthorization Act was passed, with attempts made to remedy some of the problems, specifically the definition of "Indian" and the timing of funding releases. However, by that

time, D-Q had more crucial financial difficulties.

1979-1983: Financial Crises and Responses

By 1979, D-Q's internal financial problems had increased because of two major factors: provisions in the original lease from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and deterioration of facilities. The lease stipulated that D-Q could not gain any profits from the 643 acres; nor could it use the land as loan collateral. Any profits from agricultural use of the land were to be held as trust funds by HEW. However, the college was responsible for all building repairs (Lutz, 1980). The college had been circumventing this provision by using a student cooperative to farm the land and using the slight profits to repair buildings. By 1979, the buildings were deteriorating seriously; Lutz describes the break-down of one of the main water pipes and of the electrical system. The college had few funds, and HEW refused to provide funds for repairs (Lutz, 1980).

A 1980 article in the Chronicle of Higher Education begins with the statement, "The question now is whether the university will survive" (Middleton, 1980, p. 4). The question was not frivolous because, in addition to internal financial problems, D-Q began experiencing difficulty with federal funding. In March, 1979, the Office of Education, withheld approximately \$200,000 in student financial aid. Education Office officials claimed the, "suspected misuse of

previous funds" (Middleton, 1980, p. 4). Simultaneously, the San Francisco Office of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare demanded all financial records from D-Q and "intimidated staff into releasing [them]" (Abinanti and Associates, 1980, p. 4). This action, according to attorneys, "effectively suspended D-Q operations until copies of records [were] returned [June, 1979]" (p. 4). The ensuing investigations also persuaded D-Q to suspend the farming cooperative, further depleting the institution's financial resources (Report of Validation Visit, 1982).

The reasons for the Office of Education's timing seem suspect. The original lease agreement with HEW demanded at least 500 students by 1975, but this provision had been revised to 200 students by July 1, 1979 (Lutz, 1980). Whether D-Q could have met this deadline under any circumstances is questionable; without financial aid funds, meeting the deadline was impossible. Complicating the situation was a bill, H.R. 3144, introduced in the U.S. House of Representatives earlier in 1979 by Vic Fazio, Democrat of Sacramento, which would have given the land and the buildings to the college in fee simple. The HEW action convinced Fazio to suspend action on the bill (Mendel, 1979). Further, in June, 1979, the Western Schools and Colleges Accreditation Commission placed D-Q on probation, instructing D-Q officials to "resolve problems with audits and investigations" (Abinanti and Associates, 1980, p. 4).

D-Q had applied for a Title III award in early 1979, and, in early June, 1979, was notified that the grant had been approved. However, because of the accreditation probation, the funds were not released (Abinanti and Associates, 1980). In October, when D-Q was cleared of charges and the FBI investigations ceased, D-Q officials were informed that the Title III funds had been spent elsewhere (Ng'Weno, 1989). Several months of negotiations with Office of Education personnel accomplished nothing, and D-Q never received the funds (Abinanti and Associates, 1980).

D-Q officials expressed optimism and defiance in this difficult situation. Risling commented: "The Indians have been fighting with the odds against us for 400 years, so this is nothing new" (quoted in Middleton, 1980, p. 5). Banks stated, "Being charged with all kinds of things is not new to a suppressed people" (Mendel, 1979, p.3). Leaders at D-Q mobilized supporters in California to write letters to Secretary Bell, such as that from Willie Brown, Speaker of the California Legislative Assembly, which reads, in part:

While I understand that the federal government has expressed a variety of concerns regarding D-Q University, it is my view that such concerns, until resolved officially, should not place the burden upon the students of D-Q University. (1980)

However, D-Q officials also charged that the school was being harassed by the federal government (Middleton, 1980). If a report prepared by the law firm of Abinanti and Associates is correct, the school certainly was the recipient

of more than a usual number of audits by various government agencies. This report lists the following investigations and audits:

Office of Economic Opportunity, California: 1972 review;
Federal Bureau of Investigation: 1972 surveillance, 1977 surveillance, 1978 investigation of alleged padded enrollments, 1981 investigation of alleged farming activity;

Department of Labor: 1973 audit of migrant workers program, 1975 review of 1973 audit;

California State Department, Division of Charitable Trusts: 1975 audit;

General Accounting Office: 1975 audit, 1977 audit, 1980-81 Indian certifiable FTE audit;

Department of Health, Education, and Welfare: 1976 review for Title III application, 1977 review in connection with land title, 1978 request that D-Q submit quarterly reports to the Surplus Property Division, 1979 seizure of financial records by the San Francisco Office of Investigation, 1979 site view by Title III team, 1980 audit of financial aid;

Bureau of Indian Affairs: 1980 feasibility study for CCCA funding; 1980 verification of Indian certifiable FTE;

Federal Real Property Assistance Program: 1981 audit.

Even considering that several of these audits were related to grant applications and several related to the original trust agreement, Banks' sarcastic statement that, "We are the proving ground for federal auditors," seems credible (Grant, 1982, p.2). David Risling told a reporter from the Stars and Stripes that, "We have been audited by every audit possible. They even audit the auditors" (Kerr, 1980, p. 13). A question which cannot be answered is how many of the numerous audits would have occurred without Banks' presence at D-Q.

By 1981, the Western Accrediting Commission was satisfied that D-Q had resolved its problems, and the Commission lifted the probationary status. Its report praised D-Q as "a very special institution:"

It serves a special people. Its history and its programs are unique. It has persisted for a decade in spite of incredible adversity. (Testimony of Steve J. Baldy, U.S. House of Representatives, July 23, 1981, p.3)

In the same testimony, Baldy described D-Q's use of TCCCA funds to increase library holdings, faculty positions, and administrative staff. D-Q seemed to have weathered a crisis and begun moving forward.

This appearance, however, was illusory. In March, 1982, a draft of an audit of D-Q by the Department of Education, charging numerous problems, was reported in the Washington Post. The Post story identifies the audit as "an 18-page draft" (Kurtz, 1982, p. A1). A Department of Education spokesman said that it was not policy to release draft reports

and that "he had no idea how it got out" (Pacific News Service, 1982, p. 4). In the same article, a staff member in the office of Vic Fazio, still a D-Q supporter, is quoted as calling the report, "a shoddy piece of work" (p. 4).

The Post story quotes Education Secretary Terrel Bell's statement that allowing the college to retain its land would, "disregard a disquieting record of failures and mismanagement by D-Q University" (p. A4). Among the audit's charges were inflation of enrollment figures and illegal use of the land. In a dramatically written piece, Howie Kurtz attributed the inflated enrollment figures partially to administrators teaching other administrators and faculty: David Risling was enrolled in an independent study course taught by Dennis Banks; Risling was teaching Banks in a governance and management course; Banks was also enrolled in a class taught by Carlos Cordero, Dean of Students. The report alleged that auditors had found "only a few dozen students" at the college . . . and only 39 students in classes that had 133 registered" (p. A11).

Another concern expressed was misuse of financial aid funds:

In nine out of 12 cases reviewed, the students were listed as earning money in the college work-study program while they were supposed to be in class.
(p. A1)

The report also alleged that federal aid funds were being given to students who were no longer eligible. One cited case involved a husband and wife who "have received \$36000 since

the spring of 1977 without earning a two-year degree" (p. A1).

Further allegations concerned land use. The audit stated that the college had, in the past, leased both a building to an engineering firm and land to rice, corn, and wheat farmers. However, the report also claimed that the college was presently violating the lease agreement by allowing all but 10 acres of the land to lie dormant. Jack Forbes maintained that part of the original agreement called for a Wildlife Habitat, which accounted for the land's not appearing to be used (Forbes, 1985). Ralph Olmo, the Department of Education controller, told Kurtz that, "we've been moving in a fairly straight line toward taking back the 643 acres from D-Q" (p. A10).

A report, one month later, from the Accrediting Commission of the Western Association of Schools and Colleges (1982) contradicted the Department of Education findings. The Commission found that 76 students were attending D-Q on a full-time basis and that 114 were attending on a part-time basis (Report of the Validation Visit, 1982). This number does not total the 200 students required by the college's lease agreement with the government, but it is only a few students short of the stipulated enrollment. Addition of 40 students enrolled at a satellite center at Redding, administered and staffed by D-Q personnel, results in a total enrollment of 230 students. Rather than viewing staff enrollment in classes as an attempt to pad enrollment, the

Commission commended the college for using its own resources, particularly in indigenous studies, for staff development purposes. The report stated that, "The latest audit report gave good ratings to the financial aid program" (p. 3). Also in contrast to the Department of Education complaint about land use, the Commission commended the college "for the development of the ceremonial religious grounds as a community service function" (p. 4).

The Accrediting Commission did not praise all aspects of D-Q. It expressed concern about, "a lack of firm financial policies and decisions" and a "general fund deficit of \$88,283.00" (p. 5). This deficit, according to D-Q officials, resulted from travel and legal and consultant fees both in promotion of AIHEC and in attempts to resolve "legal differences with the Department of Education" (p. 5).

In the area of curriculum, the Commission criticized lack of both course outlines and documents identifying faculty expertise. Facilities were described as "adequate," the term used also to describe the administrative structure. Recognizing the drain on finances and administrative time, the report recommended four times, "resolution of the present negotiations surrounding title and use of the land" (pp. 3-5).

In explaining the discrepancy between the Commission report and the Department of Education audit, Commission Executive Director Robert Swenson told a local reporter,

Our team visited a substantial number of classes and they found the classes were in session and they

felt the teaching that was going on was effective. It was quite a different story from what apparently the DOE auditors reported (Guelde, 1982, p. 1).

Swenson also stated that the Department of Education had requested to have one of its members on the accrediting team, but the Accrediting Commission chose, instead to request participation by a member of the Council on Post Secondary Education. Louise Miller, D-Q Vice President for Academic Affairs, explained her view of the differences between the two reports:

I believe the commission came here as peer people in the area of education looking at us very objectively and comparing other institutions of like size and program. . . And I don't believe they came with a hidden agenda whereas when the Department of Education came, they had a purpose in coming and that was to find every fault that they could. (Gelden, 1982, p. 4)

In September, Louis Demas, an assistant U.S. attorney in Sacramento, had written a letter to D-Q administrators, demanding that they "quit and vacate the land" by October 25, 1982 (Dianda, 1982, p. B2). During the autumn D-Q began to mobilize support. In August, Alan Leventhal, Coordinator of Native American Studies at San Jose State University, had written to Baldy criticizing the Federal Government's pressure on D-Q, praising D-Q's programs and concluding by stating, "I wish that there was something that we could do or say to prevent his course of action" (1982). What D-Q officials did was to publicize their situation and to solicit both political and financial support. In a four-page letter sent, in October, to California legislators and educational and tribal

leaders, D-Q officials explained the Department of Education charges and explained their position. In defending the claim that D-Q enrolled 200 full-time students, the letter states that D-Q used the "normal" practice of calculating FTE by counting percentages of part-time students as well as full-time students. D-Q defended its use of the land by explaining an agreement with local farmers under which D-Q work-study students gained knowledge of "modern farming techniques" by working the land:

At the time DOE officials praised the project as an ideal educational experience; five years later they are using the project as ammunition in an attempt to take back the land and facilities, (1982)

The letter concludes with suggestions for helping D-Q: donations of food and clothing for students, monetary donations to support legal research, volunteer teaching, and organization of letter campaigns.

On October 25th, instead of vacating the land, leaders at D-Q began a 72-hour prayer vigil. Over 100 students, faculty, and other sympathizers gathered from other Northern California colleges and universities to support D-Q. Banks told them that they were, "here to act as a human blockade" if federal agents attempted to evict D-Q faculty and staff (Grant, 1982, p. 2). Demas had already stated, however, that, if D-Q did not vacate the land, he would seek a court order for eviction, not send in U.S. Marshalls (Dianda, 1982). Later that month, Demas filed a suit, United States v. D-Q University, et al. to effect the eviction. Banks stated that the vigil would be

peaceful, but added, "If they want us off, they're going to have to carry us off" (Dianda, 1982, p. B2). The vigil was peaceful, and no one was carried anywhere.

In November, 1982, Republican George Deukmejian was elected Governor of California. Deukmejian had stated, during his campaign, that he would return Dennis Banks to South Dakota, and, shortly after the election, Banks left D-Q. He lived, for several years, on an Onondaga Reservation in upstate New York, surrendered in South Dakota in 1984, and served a fourteen-month prison sentence there (Churchill and Wall, 1988).

Before he left California, Banks had stated that D-Q attorneys would fight the court order, but, by the next summer, D-Q attorneys had come up with an innovative strategy: suing the Department of Education. According to Harvey Peoples, one of the student plaintiffs in the suit and the current librarian at D-Q, "everything changed with MarFoer; no one thought they'd get involved" (1992). Morrison and Foerster is a prestigious law firm in San Francisco, not known, at that time, for its support of minority rights. The suit names Terrel Bell, in both his official and his individual capacity, Robert R. Coates, Chief, Campus and State Grants Branch of the Division of Program Operations of the Department of Education, and the United States Department of Education. The original plaintiffs were Victoria Rogers, a Hopi-Paiute who began attending D-Q in February, 1983, and

Harvey Peoples, an Oglala Sioux, who arrived at D-Q in September, 1982.

The suit alleged violations of Title IV of the Higher Education Act in the "freezing" of financial aid funds in October, 1982, asserting that D-Q "was not provided with any notice from the agency prior to the agency's termination" and, subsequently, had received neither an opportunity for a hearing nor any explanation other than "that the funds were terminated on the order of the Secretary of Education, defendant Terrel Bell" (p. 5). The Higher Education Act requires that schools be provided with reasonable notice and an opportunity for a hearing before fund termination, limitation, or suspension. The suit alleged the same problem with financial aid funds for 1983-1984.

The third allegation was that the suspension of funds was politically, not educationally based:

The agency's termination was . . . an arbitrary, capricious and politically motivated step in a larger plan by defendants, including Bell and Coates to undermine and destroy D-Q University, to deny D-Q University its actual and potential students, faculty and administrators rights guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States, and to prevent and interfere with the exercise of academic freedom by D-Q University. (p. 7)

The suit claimed that, among other actions, defendants attempted to interfere with D-Q's accreditation, even "threatening to withdraw the agency's recognition of WASC [Western Association of Schools and Colleges] . . . unless WASC withdrew its accreditation of D-Q University" (p. 8).

Other allegations included that Department of Education officials provided "misleading and erroneous statements" to Congress and the press to damage the school's reputation (p. 8). Allegedly, the DOE had also contacted the independent accounting firm under contract to D-Q and "insisted that the independent accountants modify their report to conform to the results of the agency's sham audit" (p. 9). The agency refused.

The Department of Education was also accused of violations under the American Indian Religious Freedom Act, claiming that "their decisions and actions adverse to plaintiffs [were] based on the religious beliefs and practices of D-Q University . . ." (p. 10.) Last, violations of the Fifth Amendment were charged, in that the Department of Education's actions were alleged to have been based on discrimination.

The suit asked for the following settlements: restitution of financial aid funds for 1982-1984, discontinuance of the DOE's "invidious discrimination against D-Q University," no further "unwarranted audits," a requirement that "neutral and unbiased officials" at the DOW make future decisions about D-Q (pp. 10-11).

Harvey Peoples (1992) stated that being named as a plaintiff in the suit was, "hard, but it was a good cause:"

I was a student. I was twenty-one; my wife and I had just got together, just had a kid. I went to Sac State for awhile and then took a year off to sort it all out.

During the year off, Peoples decided that the D-Q suit was part of a pattern of Indian activism and government resistance: "It started in South Dakota, then Alcatraz, then D-Q; it's all part of the same thing" (1992). In 1983, Carlos Cordero, who had been Dean of Students, assumed the presidency of D-Q.

In January, 1984, Sacramento District Judge Philip Wilkins denied the government's motion for a summary judgment against the college and ordered "further proceedings to resolve factual disputes" (McCurdy, 1984, p. A4). Wilkins directed the college and the government to submit recommendations by February 24th, when he would hold a conference to determine further actions. An attorney for the college, John Shields expressed his belief that, "D-Q will have an opportunity to prove its case" (quoted in McCurdy, p. A4). Louis Demas expressed his disappointment, but stated that the ruling only meant, "it will take us longer to prevail" (quoted in McCurdy, p. A4).

According to Peoples (1992), "After the suit got into the system, it just sat there for six years." Occasional press articles reported on the suit's progress, but Peoples' description is, for the most part, accurate. In August, 1984, the Davis Daily Democrat reported that attorneys from D-Q had spent two days in Washington taking a deposition from Secretary of Education Bell, "over the opposition of federal attorneys who unsuccessfully argued 'executive privilege'"

(LeClair, p. 2). A 1987 headline declared that, "D-Q University: Trouble with federal government may soon be over," but states that, because the, "settlement is still being finalized, its details cannot be made public." President Cordero expressed "confidence that D-Q will be vindicated" (Jurish, 1987, p. 5). The paucity of press reports from 1985 to 1988 reflects either lack of dramatic news since Banks' departure or lack of interest in the school during the time the suit was in the courts.

The next major press coverage began on March 10, 1988, with announcement of the settlement of the suit. In D-Q's press release David Risling stated that, "This settlement will permit D-Q University to continue to serve the state educational needs of indigenous communities. . . ." (1988). In the Mutual Agreement (1988), both the United States' suit and D-Q's suit were dismissed. The settlement of the cases, according to the press release, "resolves the disputes without admission of liability or fault by either party" (1988).

Provisions of the agreement were that one-half of the 643 acres leased to D-Q reverted to the United States, which would sell it for market value. This portion of the land did not include either buildings or the ceremonial grounds (D-Q Press Release, 1988). D-Q intended to attempt to raise the funds to purchase the property (Aase, 1988). A Davis newspaper estimated the value of the undeveloped agricultural land at \$365,000 (Fitch, 1988). The other half of the land was

granted to D-Q under a charitable trust which required the land to be used for educational purposes. The trust required D-Q, through the year 2001, to maintain accreditation. The U. S. Government also agreed to pay \$30,000 to D-Q for attorneys' fees.

All sources described the settlement as "amicable." Cordero was quoted as saying, "It's a good day for both the university and the government" (Daily Democrat, 1988, p. 1). U.S. Attorney Louis Demas explained, at the press conference in Sacramento,

During the period of this litigation, the parties have come to recognize the responsibilities as well as the rights of the other side, and we anticipate a positive and constructive continuing relationship. (Fitch, 1988, p. A-1)

According to Harvey Peoples (1992), one of the benefits of the suit was Demas' changed attitude: "He used to hate Indians; now he takes Indian cases." Peoples stated that, after six years, he was "sick of the suit," but that it was a, "good cause." When questioned about the timing of the settlement, Cordero (1992) stated that, "The government realized we weren't going to give up." Peoples said that the rumor was that, "Bennet said 'Just settle it'."

At the press conference announcing the settlement of the suit, Cordero stated,

The settlement will free D-Q University from the negative publicity generated by the lawsuits and will allow us to benefit from funding unavailable in the past due to the uncertainty surrounding the litigation. (Aase, 1988, p. 3)

However, during the years of the suit, the college had received several government grants, grants which it had been unable to win during the years previous to 1983. In 1985, D-Q received a five-year Title III award of \$2,500,000. Besides funding a full-time Learning Resources Center coordinator who developed curricular materials for American Indian students, these funds were used to purchase computers and software and audio-visual equipment (Ramirez-Rios interview, 1992). Another Title III grant, a Special Needs grant award, during 1985-86, funded a Director of Development who, "was very successful in generating direct financial support from community constituencies, foundations, corporations, and agencies" (Cordero, 1992).

Other federal grants included a three-year (1987-1990) Department of Education Minority Institution Science Improvement Project grant which supplied funds for a new science wing, consisting of laboratories for biology, chemistry, and physics. The grant paid for materials and equipment, and students, staff, and faculty did much of the actual construction. A Title III National Energy Conservation Act grant supplied \$5,654 for electrical modernization including fluorescent fixtures and occupancy sensors which freed the staff from carrying all valuable equipment to a vault each night (D-Q University Application for Reaffirmation of Accreditation, 1992).

The conclusion of the suit coincided with another

occasion for celebration at D-Q. In 1988, D-Q received \$50,000 as part of a settlement of job discrimination charges from General Motors. Although this method of settlement had previously benefitted other educational institutions, D-Q was the first tribal college to receive such a gift. The funds were used to begin an endowment drive (Sacramento Bee, 1988). In accepting the award, Risling stated that the college was in the process of re-establishing links with businesses and corporations and that the funds would aid in this effort (Native Nevadan, 1988).

After the settlement of the suit, the tone of newspaper articles about D-Q also began alter, creating a different public image. Rather than news stories about the school's legal and financial difficulties, feature stories began to appear. In 1988, the Suttertown News, a weekly Sacramento newspaper, ran a four-page story by Paul Boyer. The article was introduced by a large photograph of a mural at D-Q, and the author emphasized the changes in the student body from political to studious, and in the curriculum, from a concentration on Indigenous Studies to a technical and business orientation. Boyer also commented on the change in the college's mood, noting that,

Its brief appointment of radical Indian leader Dennis Banks to the mostly ceremonial position of chancellor during a time that he was still a fugitive was, most admit, also harmful to its national reputation. (p. 3)

Although the college was attempting to "remain true to its

founding goals and activist past,. . . it is also working to stay relevant to today's students" (p. 2).

A full-page feature story in the San Francisco Examiner, the next year, featured the headline, "Indian university wins fight against feds," but the photographs which accompanied the article emphasized the rural, almost pastoral, nature of the college. A five-column picture showed Gretchen Will, an agriculture instructor, wielding a hoe in the campus garden area. Other pictures showed students lounging in the cafeteria and walking across campus with a dog. Except for the fact that the students appear older than usual college age, the photographs could have been taken on many mainstream campuses. This article, also, emphasized changes in D-Q's mood. The phrase, "Students come to D-Q University to learn to 'walk in two worlds'" appeared both in the article and as a picture caption. Cordero was quoted as saying that the school is on a "new path" involving community outreach (O'Toole, 1989, p. A2).

Another 1989 multi-page feature article, in a Sunday issue of The Davis Enterprise, was illustrated by photographs of students in a dormitory room, an appropriate technology class, and a traditional dancer at a pow-wow. A large photograph of Cordero, in a suit and tie, is captioned, "DQU beginning to fulfill its potential" (Sherwin, 1989, p. C-5). The author discussed the changes at D-Q, noting that, ten years ago, reporters were not welcomed, and D-Q's relationship

with the surrounding community was poor. "Today, the atmosphere at DQU seems to be different" (Sherwin, 1989, p. C-3).

D-Q University had survived lack of funding, bad publicity, and a ten-year battle with the U. S. Government. It had not survived unscathed, however. In 1988, Cordero told Boyer, "Government pressure hindered our progress. They ask us: 'Show us what you've done in 17 years.' We can't." What the college accomplished in the next four years, without the pressure of a pending lawsuit, was proof of its unique nature.

Chapter V

1992: A Continuing Struggle

The huddle of old Army surplus buildings looks puny in the vastness of California's great Central Valley, but on the day I visit it is bathed in a special halo of golden light. (N'gweno, 1988, p. 3)

On the October day when I first visited D-Q University, it seemed to glow also. The Sierras rose to the west of the California Central valley. To the east, black, rich dirt stretched, seemingly, to the horizon. Cumulus clouds hung over the Sierra foothills, but the bright October sun lit the valley and the campus. Thinking of N'gweno's description, I realized how "puny" all buildings look, especially to a Virginian, in comparison to the vastness of the land where no trees obscure the horizon.

In contrast to many Tribal Colleges, which are located on barren, near-useless land, D-Q occupies over 300 acres of some of the most fertile land in California's Central Valley, a fact which may explain a part of the local residents' hostility toward the college. Further complicating the problems of D-Q's location is the absence of a significant American Indian population near the school. There is no reservation or rancheria of significant size in Yolo County;

the large American Indian populations in Sacramento and San Francisco are 50 to 150 miles away.

I had read, in various newspaper descriptions, that D-Q is "isolated, in the middle of nowhere," and President Carlos Cordero's directions to the college seem to confirm this fact:

Get off I- 15 at the Winters exit. There's a 'D-Q, Next Exit' sign that I got the state to put up. Go right on the dirt road that they're repairing; you may have to wait ten or fifteen minutes; stay to the left of the fork; at the end of the 'S' curve, take the driveway at the complex of buildings.
(1992, October)

I had worried that I might not recognize this "complex of buildings," but I could not miss it: the buildings were visible from the beginning of the curve, and they were the only buildings in this section of the valley other than scattered ranch houses surrounded by cottonwood trees.

Actually, D-Q is not "in the middle of nowhere." Seven miles to the west, sits Winters, a town of 4,000 whose downtown looks like the set for an old West movie: a corner hotel with a highly polished, massive wooden bar in its lounge; across the street, a typical small town coffee shop with stools at the counter, strong coffee, and home-made pie; a post office where the clerks know the names of the people who come in to pick up mail; a bank; and several variety stores. Winters, invaded by neither Wal-Mart nor cute craft shops, has maintained the integrity of a ranch hub town, a place to gather supplies from the feed store and gossip from the coffee shop. Pick-up trucks dominate the parking slots in

the downtown, and local politics and the weather dominate conversation at the lunch counter.

D-Q students said that they rarely go to Winters because, "There's nothing there." Winters' residents seemed to know little about the college except that it exists. The gas station manager asked me what kind of place it is, and the waitress in the coffee shop commented, "Y'know, I pass that sign every day, but I don't even know what kind of a place it is." President Cordero is aware of this lack of knowledge: "Many people pass the sign, but few ever come in. They might change their minds if they came in and visited the college" (1992, October). However, the college, itself, may contribute to the ignorance about its nature. Cordero's secretary expressed surprise that the President had given me permission to use the library, commenting that, when she receives requests to use the substantial American Indian and Chicano collections, Cordero "usually says 'no'." Certainly, some of this reluctance stems from the years of investigations by various governmental agencies and by distrust of local press reporters.

Seven miles to the east of the D-Q campus, the suburbs of Davis begin. Pastel stucco houses, California stereotypes whose prices begin at \$135,000, surround a spotlessly new, matching shopping strip with outdoor tables and concrete planters holding eucalyptus trees in front of a Thai restaurant and a pizza chain. A clerk in the gourmet grocery

store did not recognize the name, "D-Q University," but she asked another clerk who identified it as, "The Indian school out on 31."

Downtown Davis, five miles further east, with movie theaters, video rental stores, and a department store, provides frequent entertainment for D-Q students, who often car-pool in on afternoons or weekends to see movies, window shop, or "just hang out." Students avoid the huge, lushly landscaped campus of the University of California, saying that they feel "unwelcome" and "odd" there. Cordero hoped that, with the inauguration of a new chancellor at U.C. Davis, relations would improve, but, at that time, D-Q students could not use the university's libraries, although they could use the collection housed in the Women's Studies Department. Individual U.C. Davis professors occasionally donate their unwanted books to the D-Q library, and several U.C. Davis professors teach part-time at D-Q, but relations between D-Q and U.C. Davis as a whole remained strained.

Physical and Financial Resources: "We Make Do"

On route 31, behind a six-foot wire fence, the cluster of six buildings which is D-Q University looked like the Army communications post it once was. A deserted guard shack sat squarely in the middle of the pitted asphalt driveway leading from the highway to the college. Four brilliantly colored roosters pecked at some corn on the ground beside the parking

lot. Two eagles and several vultures flew overhead.

The four major college buildings surround a large parking lot, as pitted as is the driveway. Behind the buildings is a 52 acre Wildlife Habitat Restoration Area on which the college is building a three-acre Celestial Wheel, part of a project to integrate aspects of indigenous culture with physical science classes. On the northeast corner of the property, a large pow wow dance arbor marks the ten-acre Ceremonial Grounds. Sweat lodges, a camping area with kitchen facilities, solar showers, and a shade arbor enable D-Q to use the grounds for religious and cultural gatherings, including the popular, annual Youth and Elders Gathering. The remainder of the acreage is leased for farming, the revenue helping to support the college (Application of Reaffirmation of Accreditation, 1992).

Dominating the west side of the parking lot is the largest college building, which houses administrative offices and classrooms. A 12,750 square foot maintenance building sits behind the administration building and in front of the 13,291 square foot Cultural Arts building, its outside walls bordered by an Indian basket design. On the north side of the parking lot, scrawny cottonwood trees shade the "small dorm," and the "large dorm."

Nothing about the appearance, except for a large white billboard proclaiming "D-Q U" at the entrance on Route 31, proclaims "college:" no landscaping, no building marked "Administration" or "Library," no athletic fields: only five

beige, cement-block buildings surrounding a large parking lot, five cottonwood trees, and seventeen utility poles. D-Q's 1990-1992 catalogue stated that it, "lacks some modern facilities" but offers a "culturally supportive environment" (p. 1). Both descriptions seem understatement.

The largest building, the 35,000 square foot administration and classroom building, is distinguished by double-glass doors which look vaguely official and a by a mural of a stylized eagle painted in bright primary colors, covering the entire side of the building. One corridor of this building houses administrative offices and the Learning Resource Center; another corridor contains classrooms and faculty offices; another corridor houses the huge Sun Room, with its four sky lights and the dark, windowless library. Tucked in the back of the building are three spotlessly clean, obviously new science laboratories.

Inside the double-glass doors, the hallway was narrow, the linoleum floors slightly uneven and patched, and the lighting dim. The president commented that, "We've never had any money to redo this, so it looks the way it did when we got it" (Cordero, 1992, October). Several students mentioned renovation of the buildings as one of the major aspects of D-Q which they would like to change. Terence Dudley, a first-year student, stated, "Being this is an old building, it's going down hill: water leaks and stuff. If I had of money, I would give it to the school to help make repairs" (1993, January).

What could have been an extremely depressing entrance was enlivened by posters and announcements covering every inch of wall from shoulder-level to above eye-level, the entire length of the hall. Newspaper clippings announced the successes of past D-Q students; flyers concerned local and state-wide programs: an insulating workshop organized by the county, an Indigenous Peoples' Day in Sacramento. Vivid posters, most based on American Indian designs or symbols, advertised American Indian festivals--past, present, and future--in California and in other states. Stuck to the walls with push-pins, their varied designs, colors, and sizes diverted attention from the dull paint, the lack of windows, the sagging linoleum.

Plumbing and heat, ancient systems, are constant problems. One sink in the women's rest room drips constantly, a minor inconvenience compared to the lack of heat in all the buildings, including the dormitories, for four days when I visited the college during January, 1993. As the temperature dropped to the mid-thirties outside, students bundled up in wool socks and mufflers, crowding around the huge wood stove in the Sun Room until two days of heavy, constant rain flooded the stove. The official explanation for the heating system was, "It's down" (Childress, 1993, January). No one I asked knew why it had failed or when it would be repaired. Jokes abounded. Students teased each other about their mismatched,

but warm, outfits. The history professor stated that they were all being tested to see if they were as tough as their ancestors. No classes were cancelled, and no one seemed to consider such an action. Classes in rooms without windows moved to the Sun Room. What seemed a major emergency to me was seen as a minor irritation by D-Q faculty and students, an intriguing lesson in how financial resources (or lack of them) affect perception.

Although D-Q's financial status was no longer precarious, it certainly remained a problem. The 1992 Self-Study struck a diplomatic balance between presenting the institution as well enough funded for accreditation and held to only minimal services because of lack of funds. The Self-Study was peppered with references to financial problems, the first, appearing early in the report: "Funding sources and income streams continue to be areas of great concern (as they are with nearly all colleges and universities)" (p. 4). Scanty funding influenced all areas of D-Q. In the study of physical facilities, a description of recently completed work was prefaced by the phrase, "While the problem of inadequate funding continues" (p. 112). In the chapter examining student services, the challenge to provide adequate supports was explained by the statement, "The availability of overall resources is a constraint"(p. 64).

D-Q's major source of funding is the Tribally-Controlled Community College Assistance Act, P.L. 95-471. In 1991, TCCCA

funds were increased 43%, to \$3,117.00 per Indian Student Count, an FTE formula for federally recognized Indian students (Application for Reaccreditation, 1992). Even this increase did not amount to the sum of \$5,820 per student which Congress had originally authorized (Select Committee on Indian Affairs, 1990). Because the TCCCA provides funds only for federally recognized Indian students, this funding fluctuates from year to year, particularly in years when D-Q's Chicano population increases. TCCCA funds do, however, provide a stable base for the college.

D-Q's tuition and fees, at \$3,040.00 per year, were the lowest among private institutions in California. The cost of other private institutions ranged from \$6,500 at New College of California in San Francisco to \$16,260 at Pepperdine University in Malibu. However, compared to state community colleges, D-Q was no bargain. Contra Costa Community College, approximately an hour's drive away, charged \$120.00 per year. Even more expensive community colleges, still within commuting distance, were \$1,500.00 less expensive than D-Q. Chico Community College charged \$1,572.00 per year, while Fresno Community College's tuition and fees totalled \$1,098.00 (Rodenhouse, 1993). The Self-Study recognized that tuition and fees, "represent a variable which could be increased" (p.121); however, an increase would contradict the mission of the college by severely limiting accessibility to American Indian students.

At \$1,692.00 per year, \$188.00 per month, the single dormitory rooms seemed a bargain, but, again, the bargain was tied to the mission of the college (Application for Accreditation, 1992). Few full-time students' homes are within commuting distance of D-Q, and sharing an apartment in Davis would not only be more expensive for students but would also necessitate owning and maintaining a car. Dormitory costs were kept low partially by assigning all students to dormitory maintenance tasks. Similarly, food costs were reduced by using staff and students as purchasers, preparers, and clean-up crews.

D-Q's success in gaining federal grants has been crucial to its survival. Besides funding a full-time Learning Resources Center coordinator who developed curricular materials for American Indian students, a 1985 five-year Title III was used to purchase computers and software and audio-visual equipment (Ramirez-Rios, 1992). A Title III Special Needs grant, during 1985-86, funded a Director of Development who, according to the 1992 Self-Study, "was very successful in generating direct financial support from community constituencies, foundations, corporations, and agencies" (p. 119). Upon termination of the Title III grants, the Learning Resources Coordinator was retained and developmental classes were added to her duties. The position of Director of Development was cancelled (Ramirez-Rios, 1992). A 1987-1990 Department of Education Minority Institution Science

Improvement Project grant supplied funds for the new science wing, consisting of laboratories for biology, chemistry, and physics. A Title III National Energy Conservation Act grant supplied \$5,654 for electrical modernization including fluorescent fixtures and occupancy sensors which freed the staff from lugging all valuable equipment to a vault each night. A National Science Foundation grant was supporting development of curriculum which would use American Indian history and culture of teach mathematics and computer science (Application for Reaffirmation of Accreditation, 1992).

Private grants have supported various projects. In 1992, an Eisenhower Grant funded a summer program for public school teachers and American Indian students during which both the teachers and students worked to connect American Indian culture to science studies. The project director lamented the American Indian students' lack of background in the sciences. The summer program, she stated, "is all hands on experiments; we hope that they will go back to their high schools and take further classes in math and science. They're bright kids." With pride, she showed pictures of the eleventh and twelfth graders on field trips to the Monterey Aquarium and Big Sur (Ramirez-Rios, 1992).

A Bush Foundation grant for faculty development, shared with several other Tribal Colleges, has supported computer classes for faculty and several faculty retreats off-campus. The director of faculty development stated that, even though

funds permit him to take the faculty only as far away as a motel meeting room in Davis, leaving the campus for the entire day has boosted morale significantly (Childress, 1992).

The Self-Study succinctly identified one problem of such heavy dependence on grants: "Eventually the grant period comes to end" (p. 122). Another problem, for D-Q, is the ambivalence associated with federal grants. As an institution known for its insistence on self-determination, and for its radical tendencies, D-Q is in the highly ambiguous position of thriving on funds from a government which it, philosophically and politically, has often opposed. Another way to view this situation, of course, is that federal funds will never compensate for the amounts of money, land, and income taken from American Indian peoples.

Private fund-raising, initiated by AIHEC, which established the American Indian College Fund in 1987, has risen dramatically since the fund's founding. In 1988, D-Q received \$800.00 in scholarship funds from AICF; in 1991, the amount had increased to \$10,000. During the 1990 TCCCA senate hearings, the Chairperson of the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewas emphasized the importance of private funding to Tribal Colleges: "All of the tribal colleges would like to reduce their dependency on Federal funds. To that end, the tribal colleges are doing everything possible to raise money from private sources." (Senate Hearings, p. 21). D-Q has been working to establish its own foundation for some years. By

seeking private support, D-Q hoped to "end reliance on federal government funding" (Self-Study, p. 124), although this seems like a less than realistic goal.

Governance and Administration: "The Good Fight"

Inside the Administration building, the first room on the right was, like most things at D-Q, dual or triple purpose. A waiting room for the president's office, the room also contained a message board, with all faculty and staff names, from the president's to the volunteer faculties', in alphabetical order. All telephone messages were posted on the board by whoever was answering D-Q's telephone: sometimes a secretary, sometimes a volunteer. Although several other staff members had telephone lines, most faculty did not, and so they used this office for any outside calls they made. When members of the faculty or staff wanted to talk to someone else at D-Q, they went and found the person rather than telephoning. The absence of ringing telephones contributed to an unusually quiet atmosphere at D-Q. The informal, democratic atmosphere was continued in the almost universal use of first names for faculty, staff, and students. When I arrived for my first appointment at D-Q, Cordero's secretary told me that, "President Cordero is in a meeting." That was the last time I heard anyone referred to by a formal title or sur-name, and the students seemed to delight in calling Cordero "Carlos" and the Vice-President, "Ann."

A kerosene lamp sat on the floor next to the desk, for use during power shortages. The President and Vice-President, whose offices face west, considered themselves lucky because, when power outages occurred, they could usually work by the light of the afternoon sun. People whose offices face east, and those with no windows, were less fortunate.

The furniture, with its dull naugahyde upholstery, looked old and slightly dusty. Informational pamphlets about D-Q, other schools with programs for American Indians, and public service announcements spilled from a display case onto a shelf. The desk's wood was stained by numerous coffee rings, and the filing cabinets were stacked with unfiled folders and papers.

Next along the corridor, the Vice-President's office looked slightly less musty and messy, but papers still filled all available flat surfaces, even, occasionally, spilling onto the floor. The furniture seemed slightly cleaner, but was obviously old.

ADMINISTRATION

Like the rooms in which they work, administrators, according to President Carlos Cordero, "wear several hats" (1992, October). Unlike his office, however, Cordero was immaculately neat. Dressed in a beige suit, the only suit I saw on campus, he dashed around the building, speaking to everyone he encountered in a booming voice. His

protectiveness of D-Q was obvious in his insistence that he "clear" me before I talk to anyone else on the staff. After I convinced him that I was a graduate student, rather than an employee of either a newspaper or the government, however, he seemed comfortable with my wandering around the buildings and grounds, and he invited me to attend any classes I wanted. He listed his own functions: fund-raiser, public relations director, disciplinarian, Indigenous People's advocate, negotiator, and rest room maintenance man. Earlier in the morning, Cordero had taped an interview, in Spanish, about environmental issues, for distribution by a Central American magazine. Before taping the interview, he had suspended a student for bringing alcohol onto the campus. Included in the informational packet I was given was the Winter, 1992, issue of Tribal College, with Cordero's article, "Healing the Earth," marked with a paper clip. The night before, Cordero had attended a dinner for the new Yolo County Supervisor, "To make friends with him, or at least neutralize him." One of Cordero's most pressing problems with the county government was the condition of Route 31. A two-foot dip in the road at the entrance to D-Q floods frequently, forcing faculty, staff, and students to drive through a "puddle" reaching to the middle of their car doors.

The 1992 Self-Study described the difficulties of leading a tiny staff:

The President spends considerable personal time writing, drafting, responding, and inter-

vening on any number of issues and tasks affecting the institution. Both he and the balance of the administrative team often are faced with the difficult choices of which projects to set aside in favor of immediate attention on other important projects. (p. 134)

Cordero spends about a month each year lobbying in Washington and approximately another month attending various meetings off-campus. His evenings are often spent at fund-raising or public relations events. Cordero stated that the college owes him "some 200 vacation days" (1993, January).

In the last five years, Cordero has attempted to raise the educational standards at D-Q. According to one of the faculty members, he tightened standards of student behavior and "refused to let students hide out here." His attempts have provoked some dissatisfaction, and led to a student movement to replace him five years ago. The attempt was unsuccessful, according to another faculty member, because, "There was no one to replace him." Another faculty member identified a further source of some animosity in Cordero's Mayan, rather than North American Indian, heritage.

Cordero, stated one faculty member has been, "Fighting the good fight for twenty years," first as Dean of Students at D-Q and as President for the past eight years (Childress, 1992). Clearly a liberal activist, Cordero stated that his definition of "the good fight" has changed over the years. Whereas he once saw education as the primary hope for Indigenous peoples, his interests have shifted to economics

and the environment; he said that he would like to form a farm cooperative. "The world is changing; no one has figured out how to deal with global changes." People, according to Cordero, have criticized his "60's values of health care and education; but I still believe in them" (1992, October).

Fund-raising seemed paramount in Cordero's mind. When asked for a brief description of D-Q, he stated that it is, "under-funded, under-staffed." Competition with other needy causes--AIDS, natural disasters, ecology--was a becoming a steadily increasing problem; Cordero stated that fund-raising has become much more difficult in the past five years. "Fund-raising takes too much time; I can't spare the time. We need an endowment." A continuing source of frustration, mentioned several times, is the disparity between funding for Historically Black Colleges and Tribal Colleges. "The United Negro Colleges get \$17,000 per year per student; Tribal Colleges get \$2,000" (1993, January).

Staffing was another major problem. Cordero described the turnover of administrators and faculty as "incredible." This presented obvious problems for D-Q, but, idealistically, Cordero saw a value in the turnover as D-Q trained young instructors and staff personnel and they went on to better-paying jobs but formed a cadre of professionals sympathetic to D-Q and other American Indian institutions.

Cordero takes enormous pride in the school and in its students' accomplishments. He repeated, numerous times, a

credo consonant with his background in student development and his M. A. degree in psychology: "We give them self-esteem; that's why they succeed." In showing me the building, he pointed out the art work in each room, identifying the painter of the huge oil portrait of Geronimo in the board room and the sculptor of the 5'-high twin wooden dolphins in the Sun Room. "All art work is student-done." During two other tours I over-heard him repeat the same phrases, with the same pride, to visitors from the U.C. system and from a local broadcasting station (1992, October).

Although Cordero cannot be described as "calm," in the sense of quiet or tranquil, he seemed deeply "unflappable," as one staff member described him. When the volunteer who had been the college's only English teacher did not return after winter vacation, Cordero commented, with little surprise, and no panic: "He's a typical volunteer. He just hasn't come back from vacation yet. But he sent Sam [another volunteer]." When, the day before he was scheduled to leave for two conferences, the water in the fields surrounding D-Q reached a depth of two feet, he explained, "Yeah, flooding is always a problem," and added that the staff always has his motel telephone numbers when he is off-campus (1993, January). Cordero is also a dreamer. As he sat in the dimly-lit library, surrounded by unshelved books, unstaffed by a librarian who was, temporarily, he told me, "AWOL, maybe at a funeral," Cordero stated that, soon, he hoped that D-Q could

attract more international students. Although South American Indians have attended the college, Cordero would like to attract more Europeans and more Asians. He also hoped that, in the future, all D-Q students would spend one semester abroad, or in a different part of the U.S (1992, October). These seemed grandiose plans, considering the immediate need for someone to shelve books in the library.

However, Cordero is also a realist. Do students appreciate D-Q, I asked. "When they leave," he replied.

The Vice-President, Annzell Loufas, also wears many hats. In a college with a larger administrative staff, her duties would be performed by the Dean of the Faculty, the Financial Affairs Officer, and the Dean of Students. Loufas closely supervises the work of the registrar and the financial aid officer, both interns. She also writes a majority of the grant applications which support the college. Loufas' appearance is dramatic: her bright, fashionable pants suits complement her dark hair and complexion, and striking Indian and Mexican jewelry add to the drama. She seemed constantly busy. A chain-smoker and talker, she combined demands with humor. In a conversation about the next semester's schedule, a faculty member stated that he could not teach until 9:30 p.m. at night and again at 9:00 a.m. the next morning. Loufas replied, with a sly grin, "You can't say that on Mondays," and the early morning class was entered on the schedule. She seemed to drive her faculty no harder than she drove herself.

Both she and Cordero lead by example, and, to an outsider, the examples seemed both effective and exhausting.

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

Characterized by one administrator as "sometimes more a liability than an asset," the 20-member Board of Trustees, atypical of those in mainstream institutions, seems also somewhat atypical of Tribal College boards. The board is chaired by David Risling, Hupa, U.C. Davis professor who was one of the co-founders of D-Q, and who continues to be active in a variety of functions at D-Q. Other members represent a variety of tribes and professions: a Maidu elder from Taylorsville, CA who occasionally teaches the Maidu language at the college; a Chumash lawyer from San Jose; two elders, one Wailaki/Concow and one Cherokee, who live in the dormitory.

In his 1987 study of Tribal College Boards of Trustees, Benjamin Ramirez-Shkwegnaabi described the boards of many tribal colleges as weak in planning and decision-making, often deferential to the president, who is viewed as the knowledgeable professional educator, and generally less involved in the affairs of the colleges and less successful at fund-raising than are boards in mainstream institutions. Ramirez-Shkwegnaabi stated that the boards' major strengths lie in performing lobbying activities and in acting as

community liaisons.

According to D-Q's most recent self-study, board members were, "vitally involved in student life. They serve as mentors, advisors and elders who can communicate the importance of education and heritage" (p. 131). The Board meets every two months and both oversees and reviews all academic programs and administrative policies, and financial affairs.

Board members are also actively involved in the daily life of the college. David Risling regularly welcomes students during Orientation (D-Q Student Information Packet, 1992). During any term, at least one board member teaches a class at the college, and two board members, elders of their tribes, who live in the dormitories, meet often and informally with students. Thus, the board seems much more involved in the daily activities of the college than are most trustees at tribal colleges.

A difficulty shared with other Tribal College trustees is the problem of negotiating the dual purposes of meeting mainstream educational requirements and providing education within a cultural context. With a considerable degree of diplomacy, the self-study articulated this problem:

The area of academic rigor, within a cultural context, also creates a challenging proposition for the institution. Issues relating to accreditation, articulation, general education core course requirements, and transfer requirements are important considerations in the development and delivery of all academic programs and courses at the institution. (p. 133)

Another shared weakness is the relative difficulty of D-Q's board in fund-raising. The 1992 Self-Study identified this area as a "particular challenge" of the board" (p. 123). Explaining that board members are chosen for their contributions to Native communities rather than their connections to private business or philanthropic organizations, the Self-Study commented that its board members are neither able to provide substantial financial contributions themselves nor to generate such contributions through their professional contacts.

Administrators and faculty seemed reluctant to comment on the effectiveness of the board, although one administrator stated that the board did not understand many of the accommodations which the college needed to make in order to meet accreditation criteria, and that explanations of such technical details needed to be repeated year after year, consuming valuable time.

"The good fight" seems an apt description of D-Q's administration and governance systems. Accomplishing a myriad of tasks, both profound and trivial, daily, involves a constant fight against time. The administrators and board members constantly fight against inadequate financial resources. However, the fight seems "good;" complaints are voiced as challenges, not only in the formality of the Self-Study, but in the informality of conversations. General good

humor and sincere dedication to the college seem to wage winning battles against the despair which could result from so little time and so little money.

Curriculum: All Things to All People

Most students' first contact with D-Q's curriculum comes in its catalogue, a relatively low-budget but very attractive document the eagle, against a background of beadwork. There are no photographs in the catalogue, the only decoration consisting of border designs adapted from California Indian basket designs. The starkness of the designs, the ample white space, and the plain print font create a catalogue which, though inexpensive, is easy to read and almost elegant. It proclaims, although not in so many words, "This is a college offering all things to all people."

In comparison to catalogues of other colleges, even other Tribal Colleges under the same budgetary restraints, D-Q's catalogue is a model of simplicity. The cover design consists of a black, white, and grey drawing of the college's symbol,

The college's heritage--as a near sacred, politically activist, and community oriented institution--is succinctly stated on the first page: "D-Q University, from where 'The Longest Walk' originated and whose grounds blessed by Benjamin Black Elk are considered sacred, is also the site of the annual Youth and Elders Gathering."

Glimpses of the history appear in the catalogue. The

original mission to serve Mexicans and American Indians is suggested rather than stated. The name, combining an that of an Iroquois leader and an Aztec one suggests the early mission: "In our very name we are bringing Indigenous peoples together" (p. 3). Under a heading marked "INDIGENOUS PEOPLE," the copy describes D-Q's success in gaining cooperation of North and Middle American Indigenous peoples to work together.

Education, suggests the catalogue, consists of growth in self-awareness, self-fulfillment, community service, and (perhaps) wisdom more than in the accumulation of knowledge. In describing ancient Indigenous educational systems, the catalogue states: "Students received help from educational systems in gaining inner strengths and depth of character" (p. 2). D-Q's educational philosophy is explained as an attempt to provide an "educational experience" rather than a program or a course of study. Although knowledge is mentioned in the philosophy, it is always qualified by concern for values: one goal of the college is "to develop individuals and scholars who, as individuals or as a community, can combine their cultural heritage with the professional and technological knowledge necessary to meet the . . . needs of Indigenous peoples" (p. 4).

COURSES

The curriculum, as it appears in the catalogue, evidences D-Q's desire to be "all things to all people:" a combination

liberal arts junior college, technical school, advanced seminar sponsor and preparatory school for movers and changers. Courses in English range from English as a Second Language and Basic Skills to Native American Literature. Agriculture courses include Farm Management and Agricultural Economics. An impressive range of computer courses includes COBOL Programming, Systems Analysis and Design, and Computer Graphics. Some courses sound as though they come straight from mainstream institutions, Physics (N 112) for example: "Introduction to general principles and analytical methods used in physics. Study includes motion, gravitation, electricity, magnetism, light, relativity, atoms, quanta, nuclei, elementary particles" (p. 89).

However, at least one course on every page emphasizes American Indian culture; Nutrition (N 108) is typical: "Analysis of Native American nutritional practices including an overview of traditional herbs and their use in healing practices and the cultural practice of interfacing health with the seasons. Deficiency symptoms and food resources will be stressed" (p. 88). The required history course, Social Science 100A, "Indian History and U.S. Expansionism," is an American history course from the viewpoint of the conquered rather than the conqueror. A student commented about this course: "Instead of U.S. history, we're taught the history of expansionism, the history of the American Indian nations dealing with the U.S. nation" (Martel interview, 1993). The

catalogue describes it as "An inter-disciplinary examination of European territorial expansionist policies to 1830 and the impact of Native Americans on U.S. political institutions" (p. 86).

The history class seemed a paradigm of what D-Q wants to be. Lehman Brightman, a history instructor at Contra Costa Community College during the day, has been teaching this course at D-Q for more than ten years in the evenings. Over six feet tall, Brightman is an impressive presence. As he walked decisively into the Sun Room, late one afternoon in October, 1992, his appearance proclaimed "Indian!" He wore a cowboy hat, a huge and ornate turquoise belt buckle, which matched the turquoise headband holding his greying ponytail back from a craggy face. He smiled often, the grin crinkling his eyes.

Brightman began the second lecture of the term by reading, very slowly, the names of American Indians who were killed at the Battle of the Little Big Horn. He paused after each name. The students' eyes were riveted on this dramatic performance. Brightman commented, later, that many of his "buddies have retired from activism to become actors--the 'old Indians retirement plan.'" Brightman could join them, with his deep, resonant voice and his piercingly dark eyes. He paused after each name, identifying one as his grandfather's, laughing at another, "Owned Sorry Horse." The connection between this introduction and the topic for the day, "Indian

Medicine," was unclear, a fact which seemed not to be noticed by the students.

Brightman's method, handing out outlines from which he subsequently reads, is potentially boring. He explained to the class that he developed the outlines years ago in response to his experiences as a graduate student at the University of California at Berkeley. "They teach history from the side of the conqueror: American Indians were an obstacle." One of his professors, he commented, developed a textbook in which America, before the European invasions, was described as being occupied "by animals and Indians." Brightman stated, "When I saw that, I got mad as hell and wrote him a letter telling him how screwed up he was. That's when I started making notes about Indian stuff, medicine and other things."

Brightman rarely read more than three or four lines from the outline without an anecdotal intrusion. Some anecdotes were personal: he recounted catching amoebic dysentery from his piercing at a sun dance. Other interruptions were humorous: he squated to demonstrate the Indian method of childbirth, his own laughter echoed by that of the students. His language was blunt and colorful; a digression about names used for Indians was typical:

There are more God-damned names for us: savages, etc. Washington Redskins. There are more important things to worry about than the Stanford Indians. Don't see anything wrong with that; you would name a team for something you're proud of. Now "Redskins," I can't see. If we called a team the 'Washington Niggers,' they'd have the name off in a finger-snap.

I remember being called 'blanket-ass' in high school. We can call each other those names, but not the white guy. (1992, October)

Students' reactions to Brightman were mixed. All appreciated the content of his course, even the Anglo students, one of whom commented, "You'd never learn this stuff someplace else. This is a real education." All respected his activism in American Indian causes. But some of the older students objected to his language. Judy Walker, a 45-year old practical nurse stated that she, and other older women, believed that Brightman could teach "without using language that's offensive" (1993, January).

Brightman related constantly to his students' interests, often using popular motion pictures as examples; when students asked about Indian actors in "Last of the Mohicans," Brightman called the actors by their first names as he told anecdotes about them. The students paid rapt attention. He asked students about their experiences with "white Man's medicine" and listened patiently to stories of drug abuse and mistaken prescriptions. He teased from them information about native cures which the students had experienced as children and the efficacy of those methods compared to Anglo methods. By using the students' lives as sources of information, Brightman convinced them not only that they know a great deal about history, but that their personal experiences were history. The following exchange, in a discussion about legal guardianship was typical:

Speaking to a student in the back row, who had been sitting alone and listening intently, Brightman asked, "Aren't you from Oklahoma? What tribe?"

"Chocktaw and Cherokee."

"Did any of your people have money? Own oil, or anything like that?"

"Not the tribe," the student answered, "but the people, some of them had mineral rights."

"And did they appoint guardians for them?" Brightman probed.

"Yeah, and you don't spend your own money."

Brightman rephrased the answer, to emphasize the terminology: "When they appointed white people as guardians, the guardians ended up receiving all the money. Right?"

"They did that to my mom. My grandparents had money and mineral rights, and she had quite a bit when my grandparents passed away, and the people they appointed as her guardians, they were only supposed to keep a certain amount per month, to take care of my mom, but my mom ended up with nothing."

Brightman now used the student's answer to form a transition into the next section of the outline:

"Well, all the guardians made out, became wealthy, and in California, when they put them as guardians, the Indians didn't have any money, but they stole all their land."
(1992, October)

The lecture continued, the focus changing from Oklahoma to California. After the class, a number of students asked the Oklahoma student about his mother's experience, and he smiled as he became a source of historical information about the history of his people.

Brightman ended the first section of the class with the statement that some of the students were day-dreaming, which was true. "We'll go have coffee and doughnuts; some of you need doughnuts; you've slimmed down since I was here last." Brightman has been bringing day-old doughnuts to D-Q for

years, commenting to me that, "These kids don't have much, but they have more than they did at home. At least they have three squares a day. The doughnuts just add something."

Why does he teach, for what he describes as "a pittance," at D-Q? Brightman explained, over doughnuts and coffee, that, at Contra Costa Community College, he teaches "regular American history. Here, I teach the real stuff, the stuff I found out about when I was at Berkeley" (1992, October).

The attempt to involve students was not limited to American Indian teachers. Drew Astolfi had graduated, in 1991, from Clark University with a B.A. in history. A volunteer at D-Q, Astolfi has become the English department. Astolfi stated that he didn't know what he wanted to study after college and wanted to do volunteer work somewhere. He had seen information about tribal colleges, and, when his father, a Clark professor, met Cordero at a conference, Astolfi volunteered there. Arriving in March, 1992, he became an English instructor when his predecessor, a woman whom Astolfi describes as "both bad and miserable" quit, leaving the college without an English department. So, after half a semester at the college and with one summer of preparation, Astolfi began teaching courses in basic writing and grammar and Native American literature. To earn his room and board, he also washed dishes in the cafeteria, solicited book donations from U.C. Davis professors and took students on outings. Having become somewhat of a protegee of Cordero,

Astolfi accompanied him to official county and state meetings occasionally (Interview, 1992, October).

In the 9:00 a.m. basic writing class, the atmosphere was considerably more informal than in most college classrooms. At 9:05 a.m., three students out of eight were present. Class began. Five minutes later, three other students appeared, sat down, took off their coats, and sipped their coffee. Ten minutes later, another two appeared. Several students got up, walked to the front, and threw away paper while Astolfi was talking.

Considering his preparation, Astolfi did an excellent job, both of relating to students and of teaching them. As a non-American Indian, he deferred constantly to their expertise in matters of Indian origin. In his basic writing class, Astolfi solicited the students' stories: both as preparation for writing and as the same type of self-validation Brightman used. In a discussion about an article entitled, "What is Freedom?" Astolfi skillfully began the discussion with specifics and then shifted to generalizations:

"So, are you free here?" he asked.

"No, the cafeteria is locked on weekends; we can't get food whenever we want it."

"There are no co-ed dorms upstairs."

Shifting from the trivial, Astolfi asked, "What about in your lives at home?"

Answers about lack of freedom spilled from the students, and the discussion became lively:

"Most jails are filled with skins. They [the police] follow reservation license plates; that's like entrapment."

"Sometimes they take guns away from people on rancherias, but not from other people."

"In my other school, they wouldn't let me wear

my eagle feather."

"All races seem to have more freedom than we do." (1992, October)

In the discussion, jail and spending time there came up four times. Clearly, freedom takes on different connotations for people who have spent time in prisons. Adam, a student in his early thirties, stated,

Freedom is walking on the beach, watching my children play. I got into drugs and alcohol, and, all of a sudden, I was in prison. Me and my wife talk about freedom a lot, and we fight about it. It changes. (October, 1992)

Astolfi stated that all the students could rewrite their paragraphs about freedom after one confessed, "I didn't spend too much time on this." From the heat of the discussion, and from Astolfi's acceptance of the students' individual perspectives, I predicted that the rewrites would be both more specific and more impassioned than the originals. The students seemed truly interested in rewriting, even though their motives were not sophisticated: "Will my grade improve if I fix it?" "I usually rewrite if it's sloppy" (1992, October).

The Native American Literature class was reading Leslie Marmon Silko's Ceremony. Astolfi began by explaining Silko's involvement in the Red Power movement, and the students listened intently. When they asked for information, Astolfi supplied an accurate overview of the movement's origins. Several smiled when Astolfi described the newspaper which Brightman had founded in San Francisco. In a discussion about

the adjective "numinous," students immediately offered examples of the infusion of divinity into the natural world, some citing translations of the term in indigenous languages. When Astolfi mentioned that this is a difficult idea for Anglos to understand, the class discussion turned into a criticism of the paucity of the English language to deal with such crucial concepts.

Discussions did not always go this well. When Astolfi failed to return from winter vacation, Sam Myers, D-Q's longest-serving volunteer, took over the basic writing class. In a discussion designed to teach generalization, Myers asked how telephones have changed American life. Answers varied from "harassment calls" to "more frequent gossip," but, despite diligent questioning, Myers could not lead the students to generalize about communication. After fifteen minutes, and no general answers, he gave up, saying, "OK, let's go on." What they went on to was a similar, and similarly ineffective, discussion about automobiles. Students seemed unable to form mid-level generalizations, and were again stuck in specifics:

"People always want to bum rides off you, especially at D-Q."

"Most Indian cars are unreliable" (1993, January).

After another fifteen minutes, Myers dismissed the class ten minutes early. He later expressed his frustration, both with the class and with the lack of an overall educational

plan at D-Q. Although he believed that most classes were adequate in themselves, Myers believed that general education classes needed to be coordinated by "someone who knows educational psychology" (1993, January, Interview). Such coordination would enable students to gain critical thinking skills more efficiently and more effectively.

Faculty: Creating an Environment

D-Q's 1992 Self-Study listed 38 faculty members, three of them full-time, five of them administrators who also teach. Twenty percent had Ph.D. degrees; twenty-nine percent had master's degrees; fifteen percent had bachelor's degrees. Three were listed as having "Cultural Eminence" in fields such as Native American Art and the Maidu language. Ten were affiliated with other institutions of higher education in California, one with a community college, two with U.C. Davis (pp. 78-86).

Part-time instructors, some of them volunteers, teach at D-Q, according to Cordero, from a sense of dedication to its mission. Why do the full-time faculty and administrators, who seemed, from an outsider's perspective, both overworked and underpaid, stay at D-Q? According to Dave Childress, who has stayed for more than ten years, the reasons vary (1992, October). Some, he stated, are "afraid of the real world" and so stay at D-Q where they can "create their own environment." Some, like Cordero and Loufas, are "dedicated liberals." Some

come to gain experience and then move on. Both a strength and a weakness of D-Q, according to Childress, is its size. Because of constant interaction, and equally constant overwork, friction among the staff develops rather easily. Faculty must be willing to negotiate differences and to compromise. Some faculty who come to D-Q find the atmosphere stifling, such as the woman, described by a staff member as, "the English teacher, with a Ph.D. from somewhere who just didn't fit in." She had not related well with students, and she stayed only one year. For some, like volunteer Astolfi, D-Q was a chance to gain experience which, with only a B.A he could not have gained in a mainstream institution. Because Cordero and Loufas, in Childress' words, "value people for what they do, not what their credentials are," people often have opportunities which would not be available at mainstream institutions. Childress is a prime example.

Ten minutes before his word processing class was scheduled to begin, Childress was hunched over the guts of a Macintosh computer spread out on his desk. He said that he would have time to talk after class, that he needed to use the computer he was repairing for the class. Childress repaired the computer, and taught the class. The reinforcement, not only of students' skills but of their lives, continued. In examining one student's assignment, a resume, Childress advised her to decrease the number of fonts she had used and then asked, "How did you work three different jobs in 1991?"

After she explained, Childress commented, "Busy summer; good for you; you have lots of experience in different things, and employers like that" (1992, October). A simple comment, but the student returned to the computer to revise her resume with a bright grin on her face.

Besides teaching computer classes and repairing computers, Childress was administering the Bush Foundation Faculty Development Grant. He organized and conducted computer workshops for faculty, planned curriculum development discussions, and prepared reports of activities for the Bush Foundation (1992, October).

The care for students takes a variety of forms. During a math tutorial in the library, the instructor commented on one of her students' continuing cough, sympathized with him about his common cold, and then used the circumstance as an opportunity to discuss the nature of and sources of Vitamin C. Clearly interested, the student wrote down her advice and then returned to the math homework (1993, January).

Individualization also takes the form of allowing students extra time to complete courses. Brian Martel commented that it might require a year for him to master the trigonometry course he needed for graduation, but that "I'll get through it; I'm a fighter." Martel explained that, although courses were organized in "regular semesters," students were allowed extra time if they needed it to master the subject matter, "because some subjects are harder than

others because of the student's educational background" (1993, January, Interview).

Students value the faculty for their patience, their dedication, and their willingness to work with each individual student. A comment by Rita Romero, a first-year student, was typical:

In high school, the teachers would . . . give you a problem, and say, 'Well, this is how it's done,' and then move on to the next problem. Well, this teacher, she tells you, 'This is how it's done, and here are a couple of other examples.' But she won't move on until the majority of the class gets it, until everybody understands it. (1993, January)

CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT

D-Q's curriculum has changed over the years, partially by plan, partially by necessity, and partially by accident. In a 1988 interview published in a Sacramento weekly newspaper, Cordero explained the planned changes: "During the college's first ten years, indigenous studies and community development were the hot majors." (Boyer, p. 2). Now, more students want training in the sciences, in computers, and in business. Through government grant support, the college has deliberately focused on these areas. A Title III grant enabled the college to equip the Learning Development Center with sixteen computers, and three computer science courses were offered in Fall, 1992, ranging from introduction to word processing to Pascal programming. The college offered a Computer Literacy Certificate program which required four courses and was designed to "represent a degree of competency that can be

earned in a short period of time" (Catalogue, 1990, p. 43). Many of the older students who enter this course, according to Ramirez-Rios, are "afraid of computers, but they adapt" (1992, October). The college also offered a more advanced Computer Applications Certificate requiring fifteen units of required courses and three units of an approved elective.

A Minority Science Improvement Program grant from 1987-1990 supported the construction and equipping of the new science wing, which has enabled the college to strengthen its science offerings. Students helped to complete the construction during the summer of 1992, and Brian Martel commented that he was proud to "have helped found some of the school" (1993, January). Courses which could previously be taken only if visiting instructors brought equipment with them or took students to laboratories at U.C. David could now be offered at D-Q. In its planning, the college has attempted to merge indigenous concepts with the traditional curriculum whenever possible. Environmental Science includes study of "the aesthetics and ethics of the environment and the relations to logical thinking and Native American culture and cultural/environmental dynamics" (Catalogue, 1990, p. 88). Even math classes emphasize indigenous culture by beginning with a study of the Aztec calendar (Cordero, 1993). By focusing, first, on a native concept, students are reminded that their heritage has value, a reminder which may motivate them when the class turns to polynomial equations.

Although the college has an Undergraduate Committee with responsibility for reviewing existing curricula and planning for the future, in fact, the curriculum seems as influenced by necessity and accident as by conscious planning. Necessity comes in the forms of faculty availability and funding. An experimental agriculture program which flourished during the late 70's no longer exists in 1992, partially because of the cost of the program and partially because the dedicated volunteer who began it went on to other interests (Cordero, 1993). Many of the advanced studies which were envisioned by Forbes have never been attempted because of lack of funds.

More than most colleges, D-Q and its curriculum are influenced by chance. Although basic language and mathematics courses are always staffed, other courses depend on particular skills of volunteers or people who are willing to teach part-time. One of the most popular courses during 1992 was Lucky Preston's Native American Music and Dance class, during which, on a typical evening, students pushed back the chairs in the Sun Room to practice indigenous dances. Preston, a professional sculptor, also holds an undergraduate degree in Native American studies from U.C. Davis. His living in close proximity to D-Q, and his willingness to teach there part-time, was a lucky accident which enabled D-Q to offer this course. Drew Astolfi, the volunteer English department, had read a number of books by Native Americans during his undergraduate years at Clark; hence, he was able to teach a

Native American literature class. John Thomas, the business instructor, also taught volleyball. One suspects that offerings change with the talents and skills of the available faculty as much as they change by plan.

Learning Support Services

LEARNING RESOURCE CENTER

The most striking feature of the Learning Resource Center is a huge mural of American Indians, some of whom hold rifles, captioned, "DAMN, IT'S HARD TO BE AN INDIAN. ESPECIALLY IN A BEAURAUCRACY LIKE NOW!!!" Commenting on the misspelling, Anzell Loufas said, "This is why we need a Learning Resource Center."

The large room was filled with sixteen MacIntosh computers, a laser printer, manuals, reference books, three T.V. monitors, a cam-corder, tape recorders, and sound/slide projectors. The array of equipment, all purchased through Title III funds, during the past five years, was impressive.

Soft-ware enabled the computers to be used for a variety of projects. Computer classes used word processing and spread-sheet programs. Computer-assisted instruction was available in vocabulary, reading comprehension, spelling, grammar, and GED preparation. Students were required to learn to use the computers during their first semester at D-Q.

Similar equipment might be found in a larger institution, but its maintenance is typical of D-Q. As the maintenance

person as well as the instructor, Childress seemed to relish his dual roles. He said that he spent two to three hours reading computer manuals each evening (1992, October). Perhaps one of the distinctive aspects of working at D-Q is not only over-work but also the ability to combine teaching and a hobby, activities which would be separated into different departments in a larger institution.

The Learning Resources Center is open most evenings, and Gary Douglas, an Apache from Los Angeles, who was working on his A. A. degree, supervised tutorial help there. The number of volunteer tutors from U.C. Davos varied week by week and semester by semester. The tutorial program had been organized with the 1986 Title III grant funds. During 1986-1991, tutors had weekly meetings with the L.R.C. director and were trained in counseling as well as tutoring. The funds also enabled the college to hold Alcoholics Anonymous meetings and a variety of health workshops at the college. At the conclusion of the grant period, Douglas took on more tutoring responsibilities and the supervision of equipment, delivering it to classrooms when it was needed and ordering or doing repairs.

Christine Ramirez-Rios, the L.R.C. director, is as multi-purpose as the L.R.C. Ramirez-Rios came to D-Q in 1986, immediately after she had given birth to her first child. She had not wanted to stop teaching when she became a mother, and a friend told her that D-Q would not care if she brought her infant daughter to classes with her. So Ramirez-Rios, who had

retired from secondary school social studies teaching, began teaching English as a Second Language to migrant workers at D-Q in the evenings, setting her sleeping baby on a chair while she taught. During the Title III grant, Ramirez-Rios was able to concentrate on curriculum development; at its conclusion, she continued to direct the L.R.C. four-fifths time, resuming her E.S.L. teaching during the evening (1992, October).

The curriculum development project resulted in, among other things, an American Indian References for Written Communication: Foundations of Reading and Writing and Basic Skills English. The work contains listings of audio-visual material, periodicals, and novels, supplemented by sample lessons for using the materials. Ramirez-Rios also wrote reading comprehension tutorials. The booklet for teaching the main idea includes the Chippewa Legend of the Stars, and a story about Chief Joseph Nez Perce. The tutorial about understanding inferences includes paragraphs about Buffy Sainte-Marie's music; the cause-effect lessons include the legend of Two Leggings, and a chapter entitled, "The Making of a Crow Warrior." Ramirez-Rios spent the past summer directing the American Indian Young Scholars Program funded by a Department of Energy grant for high school students and their teachers to study science at D-Q. Ramirez-Rios remembered it as a frantic period, commenting that notification of the grant "came so late that I had to rush to hire teachers and scientists and organize field trips." During the day, the students often

took field trips while their teachers attended workshops led by local scientists and curriculum experts. During the evenings, Ramirez-Rios planned cultural activities for the students and their teachers. Twenty of the twenty-nine students who started the program completed it (1992, October).

Ramirez-Rios was now immersed in documenting expenditures for the summer and in tracking the students who participated. She was also involved in evaluating curricular materials for Saturday Academies for high school teachers which focus on environmental development and waste management. She helped to design instructional kits for secondary school teachers, commenting that "being a teacher helps me to know what will work and what won't." Ramirez-Rios moved gracefully from discussing grant assessment procedures to explaining the problems of migrant child-care workers, seemingly unaware of both her range of knowledge and her amazing adaptability. I was struck by the incongruity of this calm, competent woman filling out bureaucratic grant forms underneath a mural depicting American Indians holding rifles and denouncing "beaurocracy."

THE LIBRARY

As is true at most colleges, the library is the heart of D-Q. The large room looks like a cross between a student center and a warehouse. In the front half of the room, posters and banners hung from the ceilings; a large oak

sculpture of a perched eagle sat on the fraying rug; a sagging davenport, three frayed and sagging chairs, and a coffee table overflowed with books and magazines. A large table sat in front of a reference section containing aged encyclopedias, almanacs, and dictionaries of English and various indigenous languages. The 1100-volume Chicano collection and the 1600-volume Native American collection were organized on one wall. A periodicals section, enclosed by shelves, contained magazines such as Winds of Change: A Magazine of American Indians and American Indian Science and Engineering Society and Seasons, published by the National Native American AIDS Prevention Center.

The 16,500-volume general collection was less well organized on aging shelves in the uncarpeted rear of the room where the lights were dimmer and the floor was dustier. Although books were shelved in a general Library of Congress location, many had been taken from their places and laid, indiscriminately, on empty spaces. Piles of donated books lay on the floor, waiting for someone to find time to shelve them.

The library gains materials in a variety of ways. In the last four years, it has been given the personal manuscripts and papers of Kay Black, the editor of the first American Indian Education newsletter, and Marie Potts, a Northern Maidu elder. A Bush Foundation Grant to AIHEC colleges, in 1992, more than doubled the library's purchasing budget from \$1500.00 to \$3200.00 per year. An extensive drive for

donations from U.C. David resulted in over 300 current math and science textbooks. The reference section contained over 1000 government and state publications donated by the USDA Soil Conservation Service (Self-Study, p. 97).

On a typical afternoon in January, a student shared the davenport with a three-year old child, the son of another student. Absorbed in News from Native California, the student occasionally reached over to pat the sleeping three-year old. Two other students sat at the only large table in the room, reference books opened in front of them.

When I first visited D-Q, during the librarian's absence, I could not understand how anyone could find anything in the library. Although there was a card catalogue, there were few labels on shelves, and many of the books bear no cataloguing notations. When I returned, I discovered that Harvey Peoples, the librarian, is a human card catalogue. I asked for nothing which he could not locate immediately, and Peoples is much more "user-friendly" than a printed cards in a filing cabinet. When I asked for material about D-Q, I returned from lunch to find a two-foot high stack on the table, including not only newspaper references but also some of Peoples' personal papers. Although no system was apparent in the room, when I returned the papers to their vertical file, I found that each item was clearly identified on the front of a folder.

In his mid-thirties, Peoples is slim, active, friendly. A D-Q institution, Peoples was a former student and has been

the "library assistant" since 1986. With his long ponytail held by four differently colored rubber bands and his plaid shirt and jeans, Peoples looked more like the activist he once was than the suburban family man he is now. He explained the transformation: "Now it's time for someone else. I'm settled." He proudly described his son, a city champion soccer goalie and a baseball player. In August, he had begun taking his children to Pizza Hut once a week so that his wife could have a night off (1993, January).

Peoples greeted each student who came into the library, saying to one, "How's my Indian brother from the North?" and to another, "How's the math coming?" A former student at D-Q, who then studied for a year at Sacramento State, Peoples stated that he, "knows everyone around here from the mayor to the migrants and we all get along fine." Peoples seemed, also, to know everything about D-Q. When an old friend visited the library, Peoples gave him a detailed description of the new science labs and the summer science program. "When you've been here a long time, you can see the progress here," he concluded (1993, January). As a cataloguer, Peoples is barely adequate; as a reference librarian, he is superb; as a role-model to D-Q students, he is irreplaceable.

As with most things at D-Q, the learning support facilities are more dependant on the people who direct them than on the equipment and supplies. Ramirez-Rios, although working almost frantically to meet a grant report deadline,

stopped adding columns of figures to help a student find a file. The books in the library may remain on the floor for months, but Peoples kept track of each student and his or her problems and achievements. Will students learn the intricacies of a college-level library while at D-Q? Possibly not. Will they come to believe that libraries and learning support centers are friendly places to find help? Certainly.

Student Affairs: An Exercise in Ingenuity

D-Q had no Dean of Students during 1992, although it was advertising for the position. At a starting salary of under \$25,000, and with no budget for student activities and no athletic facilities, I wondered who would accept the position.

Lacking a program and a program director, students seemed adept at finding things to do after they adapted to the fact that D-Q does not match their ideas of "college life." One student from Los Angeles commented that her high school had "great facilities compared to this." Another student expressed surprise that there was no football team or any other form of organized athletics, varsity or intramural: "Indians like sports--and they're good at them" (1993, January). In the absence of anyone to organize for them, students organized their own co-ed football games during early evenings. With no equipment but an aging football, the students did not play tag football but tackled each other with enthusiasm, returning from the fields muddy, a bit bruised,

laughing and exhausted. Many students ran four to five miles around the grounds each evening: some as a social activity with friends, some alone as physical conditioning and relaxation.

Residential students lived in two dormitories, former barracks for the Army communications corps. Some rooms were singles, some doubles, and each structure contained a common bathroom, a pay telephone, and a common recreation room containing an aged ping-pong table and a few chairs. During the late 1970's, solar heating systems for the residence halls were begun, but they were never completed (Fonda at D-Q, 1979). What remained of the project were dirty plexiglass structures attached to the front of each dorm. Dormitory maintenance is a student responsibility, and the cleanliness of the halls seemed to depend both on the time of year and which students had drawn this duty during a particular week. In early October, the dorms looked clean; in early January, ashtrays in the common room overflowed, and old soda cans littered the hall floors.

Food preparation in the cafeteria, a large room attached to the front of the smaller dorm, is also the responsibility of students and staff. Rudy Geary, the only staff member who lived in the residence halls, purchased food and supplies in Davis weekly. On his regular runs, he also did errands for students who did not have cars, such as picking up perscriptions or school supplies. Students draw cafeteria

duty on a rotating basis, and the quality of the food varies according to the talents of the cook. When Judy Walker or another of the older women who was an experienced cook was on duty, students ate delicious and nutritious food. However, the alternating system meant that on some days the food was barely edible. Brian, a culinary novice, described "burning macaroni and cheese, and it was instant." Brian stated that, after that failure, he was assigned to making salads so that he still had a part in the preparation of meals (Martel, 1993).

The cafeteria also serves as a student center. At night, the tables where students eat during the day become places to spread out their books and study or talk. The ubiquitous, brown, aging naugahyde chairs face a wall-mounted T.V. on the other side of the room, where students watch both sit-coms and rented movies in the evenings. My introduction to "Thunderheart" occurred one evening when Brian invited me to join the students to watch the movie he had rented in Davis. The room was packed with quiet, attentive students, some munching popcorn they had made in the kitchen. Because the film includes both an urban Indian who has denied his heritage and reservation Indians who cherish theirs, almost all students could relate to one character or another, and the majority of remarks were quiet recognitions of the reality of the characters' circumstances: "Yeah, man, I've been there" or "Yeah, I know how that feels." Only a few students seemed

aware of the factual incidents on which the film is based, but Brian commented on historical inaccuracies several times.

During the heat and electricity loss in January, students built a huge fire in a barrel in the cafeteria and popped popcorn over the barrel. They brought blankets with them to sit and watch the evening's T.V. and do their homework, as the cafeteria was considerably warmer than their rooms.

Outings occurred through student initiative. During October, Karen, an Anglo student, was investigating the cost of an afternoon of parachuting at a local airfield. She described, "Carlos jumping out in his suit, and Ann, of course, will have a cigarette hanging from her lips." In January, a group of students planned a whale-sighting expedition to Point Reyes. They used their own cars, although Sam Myers, a volunteer, and Mary Porter, the math teacher, went with them. An older student, who said that she couldn't go because she needed to work on English, fried chicken and made potato salad for the day trip.

Classes also replaced more traditional student activities. Lucky Preston's Indigenous Studies class spent an hour discussing anthropology and another two hours learning native dances and songs in the Sun Room, where they pushed the furniture back to the walls, and laughed as they fumbled through the unfamiliar movements.

Six pow wows for the surrounding communities are held at D-Q during the year, and students help to organize these and

raise funds through a food booth. Students often travel to numerous other pow wows which occur in a 200-mile radius. The annual Youth and Elders Gathering is a source of both entertainment and the recruiting of prospective students. Karen Smith, an Anglo student from Chico, first heard about D-Q at a local pow wow which, she says, she had attended purely for entertainment. One of the board members who lives in the dormitory conducts for spiritual purification sweats on a regular basis (Self-Study, 1992).

Other student services functions depend on community resources. Routine health care is provided by the county clinic, a one-hour ride from D-Q (Self-study, 1992). Because of the amount of time necessary for transportation, and the amount of time spent waiting in the clinic, visits for such ailments as common colds and influenza can consume entire days. Rudy, a student from Redding, missed an entire morning of three classes in order to obtain cough medicine. Since most students lack private medical insurance, using physicians whose offices are located in Davis is not an option.

One of the unique policies at D-Q is a strict, and strictly enforced, prohibition of alcohol and drugs. Miet, the volunteer from Germany, commented that, although enforcement of some policies, such as class attendance, is lax, the prohibition on alcohol is absolute. None of the students I interviewed admitted that this prohibition was a problem for them, but the Self-Study's lengthy paragraph about

drug and alcohol counseling services available in Davis, and about transporting students to local Alcoholics Anonymous meetings, indicates that alcohol abuse has been a problem in the recent past. The importance of the ban on alcohol is evidenced by the number of times it is repeated in college publications and flyers. The admissions brochure states the prohibition; the student pamphlet re-states it; all advertisements for pow wows carry the sentence, "No alcohol or drugs are allowed on D-Q University grounds" (Pow Wow at D-Q, 1992).

The staff recognized its weaknesses in Student Services. Recommendations in the 1992 Self-Study included hiring both a Dean of Students and a full-time counselor, and devising a career counseling methodology. Although the Self-Study emphasized that student services were "adequate," they were directed, as additional duties, by the Vice-President, the President, the Administrative Assistant, and the Librarian (1992). This situation was surely a less than adequate one.

Students: Diversity

The Self-Study emphasized the diversity of students' backgrounds:

Most of our students are from diverse cultural backgrounds within the many tribal groups. . . . While D-Q University students are from 'American Indian' backgrounds, a particular 'Indian' may come from either a different tribal background that is economically advantaged or disadvantaged, this requires uniquely individualized approaches to addressing student needs. (p. 70)

Some Indian students, such as Lennie, who gathered, dried, and mixed traditional herbs for medicinal use, and Brian, who spoke fluent Cree, were knowledgeable about their traditional heritages. Others, like Susan Waters, who grew up in Santa Barbara, knew almost nothing about their tribal customs. The homogeneity which enables other Tribal Colleges to plan cultural services for students does not exist at D-Q.

Students differ not only in their tribal backgrounds but also in their ages, their educational preparation, and their attitudes toward higher education. In Fall, 1991, 65% of the students were Indian, 7% Hispanic, 3% Asian (Self-Study, 1992). Although D-Q did not classify students by age, during Fall, 1992, at least four of the forty full-time students were over forty years old; five more were in their thirties. Some students had "traditional" educations. Rita had graduated from a public secondary school the year before she entered D-Q. Terence had attended Sherman Institute in Riverside, California, an all-American Indian boarding school, throughout high school. However, Judy, a woman in her mid-forties, had graduated from secondary school over twenty years before entering D-Q, and Brian had completed only tenth grade in a Canadian public school before coming to D-Q.

Some students had clear goals. Brian wanted to complete a four-year B.S. program in a science and then go on to graduate school. Judy, similarly, intended to transfer to a pre-med program. Others, like Rita, were attending D-Q

because they, "want to graduate to have a better life," but had no clear career or further educational goals.

The four students whom I interviewed represented the variety present at D-Q. Rita Romero, from Santa Ynez, was a tiny, lovely young woman who looked like a typical teenager. Her black hair was neatly pulled back from her delicate face, and her off-white jeans were clean and pressed. Except for her seeming youth, Rita looked little different from many college freshmen. What created a major difference was the broad grin she often focused on her three-year old son, Jason. Before we began talking, Rita had been chasing Jason across and over the chairs in the Sun Room, giggling as loudly as he was. However, when he climbed on a chair which she considered too high, her tone became quiet and firm, and Jason immediately climbed down.

Rita was much more concerned about the problems of being a single parent than the problems of her Indian and Chicano heritage. Her answers to questions about her tribe were monosyllabic; to questions about her life with Jason, she responded in paragraphs. Some of her statements suggested that Rita has a great deal of determination:

I was the first one to graduate from my family, from high school. None of my brothers and sisters finished school. Well, I got pregnant at a young age, in my junior year, and had him my senior year. And I still finished high school. (1993, January)

Rita had learned about D-Q from her ex-boyfriend, Jason's father, who had attended D-Q the previous year, and, when her

tribe offered her a scholarship, she decided to use it at D-Q. She was taking general education requirements and living in the dormitory, while Jason's father, who was also attending D-Q, lived in an apartment in Davis with Jason. Jason spent all day at the school, with Rita's friends or his father watching him when Rita was in class. He ate all his meals with Rita. Although Jason was a normally rambunctious three-year old, no one complained about his running through the halls or yelling occasionally. Indeed, the other students seemed very fond of him. Although D-Q had no organized child care program, the informal atmosphere and the tolerance for unusual situations allowed Rita, as she describes herself, "to be a student, be a mom, and improve myself" (1992).

Judy Ann Walker, a 48-year old student, seemed similarly determined. She had had years of experience as a practical nurse in Reno and Sierra County. She held a certificate as a medical assistant and smiled as she told me that she intended to attend medical school after D-Q to become an internist: "Kind of late in age," she explained, "but I'm doing it. I'll go to reservations or wherever they need to have somebody to work with the Indian people" (1993, January) . Did she feel that D-Q was preparing her adequately for the In-Med program at the University of North Dakota? She explained that her background in medicine was already extensive and that, "All I'm just doing is getting my general education right here and my first foothold into college and what it is. So it's good;

it's really good." Judy's major complaints centered around life in the dorms, with much younger residents. She explained that late-night noise was often a problem, and that, "It's a little hard on us older ones to get to sleep at night."

Judy expressed surprise that English was her favorite class, commenting that she had disliked writing when she was in high school. She found the class challenging because it demanded so much writing and revising, but was convinced that improving her writing would benefit her in her more advanced studies. She described the pace of classes, several times, as "slow," and explained that this pace and the individual attention she was receiving had made returning to school much easier than she had expected. An habitually cheerful woman, Judy focused on her strengths: perseverance, maturity, and clear goals.

Not all students were as convinced of their own abilities or D-Q's success in educating them as were Judy and Rita. Brian Martel, surely the most dedicated and well-read student I met, was afraid that his education at D-Q was not preparing him for the rigors of a larger institution. He planned to continue at Cal State Sacramento, although he stated that his original goal had been to graduate from Dartmouth or William and Mary, "because they had early mandates to educate the Indians" (1993, January). Sac State, however, has good Indian support systems and low tuition, two factors which Brian considered requirements.

Brian first learned about D-Q at the Peer Tribal House in Oakland, California. He had left his home in southern Canada at seventeen, moving, originally, to the Blackfeet Reservation in Montana and then wandering across the country to California. He explained that he had gained self-esteem through what he had learned in classes with an American Indian perspective:

When I was going to school in the public school, they taught European history, Roman history, ancient history, all the early histories. And when it came to teaching the history of this continent, the history existed from . . . the revolution to the present and nothing before that existed. Knowing Indian history makes me feel like I can concentrate on trying to uphold the past. . . because so much in the past had been accomplished by Indian people. (1993, January)

Brian had become Drew Astolfi's student assistant, and Drew clearly considered him a superior student. Brian and Drew were collaborating on a translation of Cree literature, another source of self-esteem for Brian.

The only Cree at D-Q, Brian said that he felt enriched by the presence of students from other tribes, and that he enjoyed teaching other students words from the Cree language and concepts and traditions he had learned from his grandfather. Brian explained that one of the things D-Q stresses is that American Indians need neither give up their cultures as his parents did, nor fail economically, as did his grandparents: "You can be an Indian and succeed."

Clearly the most unhappy student I interviewed, Terence Dudley, was also one of the most noticeable students at D-Q.

Dressed, always, in black and white, Terence purposefully cultivated the look of a teenaged "skinhead." Terence seemed to typify the students for whom D-Q was founded: those whose backgrounds had robbed them of self-esteem. Terence described his former school experience:

It was pretty rocky for me because I had some problems that I had to go through. You know, being in a white high school; I didn't know where I fit in. There were other Native Americans, but if they were smarter than you, they didn't really care to associate with you. . . So I just kind of like--I dropped out. (1993)

Terence's tribe then sent him to Sherman High School in Riverside, California. Terence did well at Sherman and, in describing his experiences there, he emphasized the Native American staff and faculty. He had heard about D-Q during his senior year and was attracted to it partially because of its isolation, partially because of the individual attention offered, and partially because of its inter-tribal nature.

In describing his disillusionment with D-Q, Terence emphasized that he felt that he was learning a great deal and that he liked most of the instructors. However, he was bothered that not all administrators were Native American, and he was extremely sensitive to criticism:

It's a negative feeling I get. It's not positive. It's the look in people's eyes; you can tell when somebody's not with you. . . If they get yelled at, the students get over-upset and they wonder about themselves and they feel like quitting, and they don't feel like they're up to it.

Terence was also the only student I interviewed who seemed

seriously bothered by the sagging tile, the aging furniture, and the lack of facilities. He stated that he would stay at D-Q for one year but then planned to transfer to somewhere where they had, "better dorms, football fields, soccer fields, and everything that you normally have at college."

All the students who spoke with me praised the small classes at D-Q and the caring instructors. When asked about specific instructors, even Terence stated, "They're all good teachers," and then, after describing five specific instructors, repeated, "I'm here for the teachers, and they're all good."

Community Involvement

D-Q University Annual Veteran's Day Pow Wow featured an Open Gourd Dance, arts and crafts, food booths, and a Food Basket Drawing. Another annual pow wow celebrates Deed Day each April. The annual summer Youth and Elders Day brings junior high and high school students to the campus to learn about their heritage from older tribal members.

D-Q also serves as the site for a variety of educational programs involving the local community. In 1992, it housed a Basic Electrical Wiring and Weatherization project supported by the California Energy Extension Service. Registrants received \$200.00 stipends for learning about wiring and weatherization and then for practicing their skills by improving weatherization at D-Q (BEWW flyer, 1992). Several

D-Q students signed up for the program; one, Judy Walker, commented, "It's good money and also a skill I can use back on the reservation" (1992). D-Q also offered a variety of diagnostic tests to members of the community, ranging from GED preparation to ESL evaluation.

Perhaps the most obvious expression of D-Q's mission is the number of times the word "Indian" or other words connoting Indian identity are used in daily conversation. Harvey Peoples, the librarian, greeted Brian, a Canadian student, as "My Indian brother from the North." Lehman Brightman, the history professor, greeted another student as, "You young Indian." In a composition class, in answer to a question about voting behavior, several students said that they always voted in tribal elections, although they might not vote in federal or state elections. In talking to me about various faculty members, Drew Astolfi identified each by name and then tribal affiliation, even differentiating between "reservation Apaches and urban Apaches." A staff member joked about "Indian time" in discussing class schedules.

For students whose identity has either been denied or denigrated in other institutions, this constant repetition can accomplish more than a semester's worth of "raising self-esteem" courses. A first-year student from Los Angeles commented, "In high school, everyone thought I was Chicano; here, I feel Indian."

Four years after the end of its legal struggles, D-Q

officially bore few signs of its troubled past. The catalogue did not mention the troubled years. But the years of lawsuits form a powerful mythology among faculty, staff, and students. Harvey Peoples, now the librarian, talked freely of "the struggle." There was a spirit of survival among the administrators and faculty who lived through the 70's and 80's at D-Q. Students told me about the "harassment" of the school and voiced their pride in the school's survival. When questioned more closely, several students knew no details of the legal battles, or knew only that D-Q "sued the government and won," but those years obviously had become part of the mystique of the school.

Chapter VI

Conclusion: It is Unique

On the first bulletin board inside the D-Q University administration building, a poem is prominently displayed:

DQU

Standing alone in the middle of nowhere
tree-lined driveway connecting
the buildings to the main highway
Looking more like a jail than a school

A school of chance for someone like me
Less than perfect, like me
Full of dreams and hopes, like me
Not pretty to look at or full of luxury,
but a place to learn, to grow
to fulfill dreams

A chance for the young and the old,
the reformed, the down and out,
the eager and bright

D-QU, a chance
for people like me.
Judith Surker
Hupa/Yurak/Karak

Higher education in America has long shown a significant tolerance for ambiguity. The lines between private and public education were, and are, fuzzy; the term, "university" is claimed by a wide variety of institutions, from multi-department, multi-program institutions such as Harvard and the University of Michigan to the one-building proprietary Technical University in Pueblo, Colorado. D-Q University,

however, demonstrates a tolerance for ambiguity which can only be described as extraordinary. As Surker's poem accurately states, it does look "more like a jail than a school." Its library looks like a combination of a warehouse for discarded textbooks and a private collection of American Indian and Chicano rare books. Two of its trustees live in the sometimes unheated dormitories. Some of its faculty hold degrees in the subjects they teach; others do not. Although some areas of the curriculum are stable, others depend on the willingness or availability of volunteers. This tolerance for ambiguity is, probably, as responsible for its survival and success as any other factor.

The high tolerance for ambiguity has enabled D-Q officials to "bend with the wind," taking advantage of whatever resources were available to enable it to survive. The college sought and accepted government funding while suing the Department of Education; probably, indeed, some government funding was used to support D-Q's suit against the Department of Education. Professors from the Tecumsah Center at the University of California, Davis, taught at D-Q during the years when D-Q and other Tribal Colleges opposed funding of Native American Studies programs in mainstream institutions. The college sends its students to use the Women's Studies library at the University of California, Davis, while maintaining that mainstream institutions are detrimental to American Indian students' progress.

The college has also been able to shift its mood and emphasis, maintaining its most crucial goals, but adapting to real circumstances, both political and economic. Jack Forbes' original plan called for a graduate school, but D-Q began by educating the students who came, some of whose reading levels were below ninth grade. In 1992, in response to the availability of high tech positions, D-Q taught computer literacy simultaneously with basic literacy. During the seventies, when Red Power was both ideologically popular and politically influential, in some circles, D-Q advertised sun dance ceremonies and sweat purification rites. Although these ceremonies have continued, the college now advertises pow wows featuring arts and crafts booths.

D-Q seems a sometimes uneasy combination of three types of institutions better known in American higher education: the small, rural, denominational college, the prestigious private college, and the public community college. Its smallness creates both a sense of community and the tensions which come with constant contact with the same people, class after class, day after day. Negotiation and compromise, as Dave Childress told me, are constant and constantly necessary actions. Its isolation requires both independence and ingenuity of its faculty and students, both in educational and in extra-curricular endeavors. The boundaries between private and school property are even blurred: when a student needed to complete a paper late one evening after the Learning Resource

Center had closed, an instructor told her to, "Use Brian's [a student's] computer. He has one in his room, and he'll sleep right through your typing" (Astolfi, 1992). When I asked Brian, the next day, if he usually locked his room when he went to bed, he looked at me uncomprehendingly and asked, "Why?"

The tone of the school is similar to that of a denominational college. Although there is no emphasis on a particular tribe, the insistence on "Indian" is ubiquitous. The posters shout, "Indian," as does the history class, as does the conversation in the dining hall, as do many of the class assignments. When a writing class was studying process analysis, Lonnie, a Canadian Indian, fashioned an arrowhead in class; the students then described his process in their essays. Harvey Peoples' greeting Brian by shouting, "How's my Indian friend from up north?" and Cordero introducing a Learning Resource Center tutor as, "Our Apache friend" affirm students' and faculties' identities.

Students at D-Q receive the individual attention usually available only at exclusive, and expensive, private colleges. If their mathematics skills are weak, they receive individual tutoring. If they have particular talents, such as Brian Martel's knowledge of the Cree language, faculty encourage them to use these talents and help them to design projects to further develop them.

However, D-Q also shares characteristics with public

community colleges. An open-door policy is crucial to its nature; the age and diversity of its student body testifies to its willingness to attempt to educate almost anyone who gets off the bus on Route 31. Its survival depends on public funding, and its faculty and staff spend endless hours applying for and accounting for that funding. Rita Ramirez-Rios stated, "Probably a fourth of my job is filling out forms" (1992). As leaders of a publicly funded institution, its administrators spend significant amounts of time lobbying for funds and making political contacts. However, for most community colleges, these activities take place at the state level; for D-Q, they are national concerns. Ambiguity seems as ubiquitous a concept at D-Q as does American Indian identity.

Although higher education in the United States tolerates ambiguity and touts its own diversity, the history of D-Q's relationship with the Department of Education questions the federal government's support for experimentation and originality. Whether the lengthy conflict was the result of racial or class considerations or the result of clashing political philosophies cannot be answered without access to the complete files. In its early attempts to create a truly unique institution, D-Q founders, administrators, and faculty may have shaken American ideas about the nature of higher education far beyond the comfort level, or the comprehension level, of many educators and politicians. Had these

experimenters been able to fund the school privately, it would, probably, have simply been ignored. The necessity of relying on federal funding, both for student financial aid and for grants, meant constant scrutiny and almost inevitable conflict. With the growth of an American under-class, questions about the correlation between wealth and tolerance for institutional diversity are becoming increasingly crucial.

The implications of this study are diverse. As higher education in the United States approaches the increasingly diverse student populations of the twenty-first century, accrediting agencies need to continue to show the tolerance for unique institutions which the Western Association of Schools and Colleges showed towards D-Q: demanding general accountability while allowing the institution to define its own mission and goals and supporting it through the struggles of becoming established. Without this type of flexibility, innovators will not be encouraged to attempt to solve problems for special student populations.

Particularly regarding populations which have been, historically under-educated, the federal government's role seems crucial. These populations are unlikely to attract wealthy sponsors, either foundations or individuals; hence, they will, probably, need government assistance in order to begin experiments and continue those experiments for long enough to adequately and accurately assess their success or failure. In welfare reform, there is discussion about

eliminating the "cliff effect," the sudden drop in income and support which former welfare recipients experience when they become self-sufficient, an effect which drives many back to state support. A similar effect occurred at D-Q twice, first when the college was made responsible for its building refurbishing and maintenance but denied use of its surplus land for income generation; the second time when financial aid was, suddenly, denied to students. These actions said, in effect, to the college, "Survive if you can." If unique, experimental institutions are not given sufficient support to insure their functioning without financial crises for a reasonable number of years, assessment of the experiments will never be accurate. Either the institutions will die, or they will function, constantly, on the "cliff," their administrators and faculty so pressed by constant crisis that the experiment is never fully realized.

Mainstream institutions, many of which will inherit the students who transfer from tribal colleges, need to examine their approaches to non-traditional students. The tribal colleges succeed, partially, because they are "grassroots" institutions in which students design or contribute to the design of their own support systems. Tribal college faculty and administrators who have gained their own educations under circumstances similar to those of their students are more able to anticipate the needs of those students. The enclaves in mainstream colleges and universities--Chicano and Black

Student Unions, women's re-entry programs--need greater student design participation and administrators chosen from these special populations.

In order to insure their survival, tribal colleges need to pursue significant private financial support. The fledgling American Indian College Fund is a first step in this direction. Publicity about the colleges may attract support from individuals, corporations, and foundations outside the American Indian community, the type of support which has enabled numerous denominational and other institutions to flourish.

And the future? D-Q University, like other Tribal Colleges, was founded by dreamers and optimists. It is sustained by them. Whether these men and women, all in their late forties and early fifties, will be replaced by a new generation of educators is a serious concern.

Financially, the college can survive. TCCCA funding seems secure, and, with the publication of the Carnegie report in 1989, D-Q officials hope that private foundation support may increase. It is doubtful, however, that funds will be available, in the near future, for renovation of electrical and heating systems, both of which continue to deteriorate.

However, D-Q faculty and staff remain eternally optimistic. In a 1992 interview with a local newspaper, Lehman Brightman, usually one of the more cynical faculty members at D-Q, predicted a new age: "We are inevitably

heading towards another progressive cycle. I hope that this next progressive cycle will increase in intensity and in its ability to forge lasting progress" (1992).

More than ten years ago Norman Appelt stated, "The main thing D-Q did for me is that going there I had an opportunity". D-Q is still providing that opportunity.

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